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ORDERLY BOOK
OF
SIR JOHN JOHNSON

DURING HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST FORT STANWIX

From Nov. 4th, 1776, to July 30th, 1777

. ANNOTATED

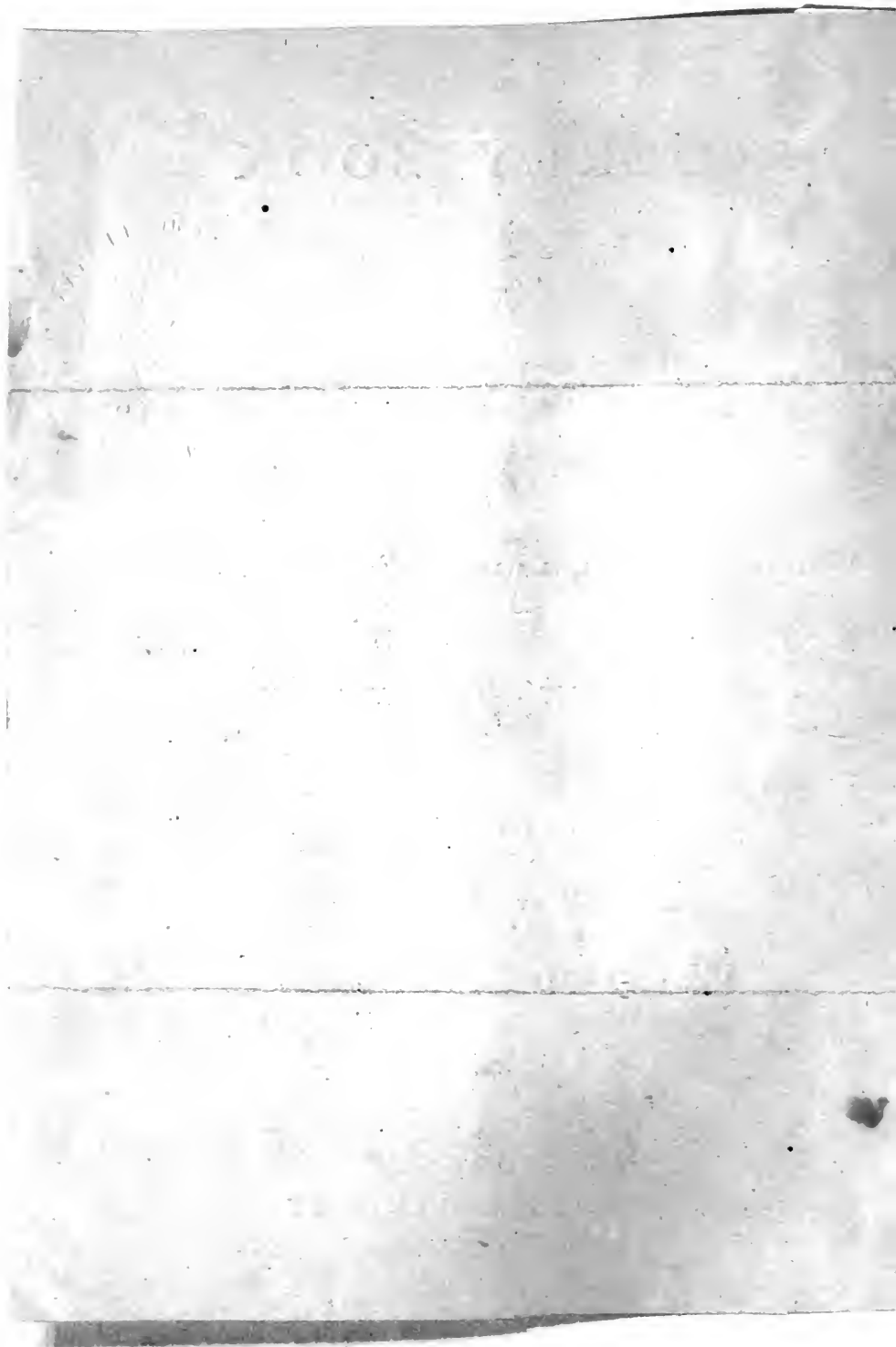
BY

WILLIAM L. STONE

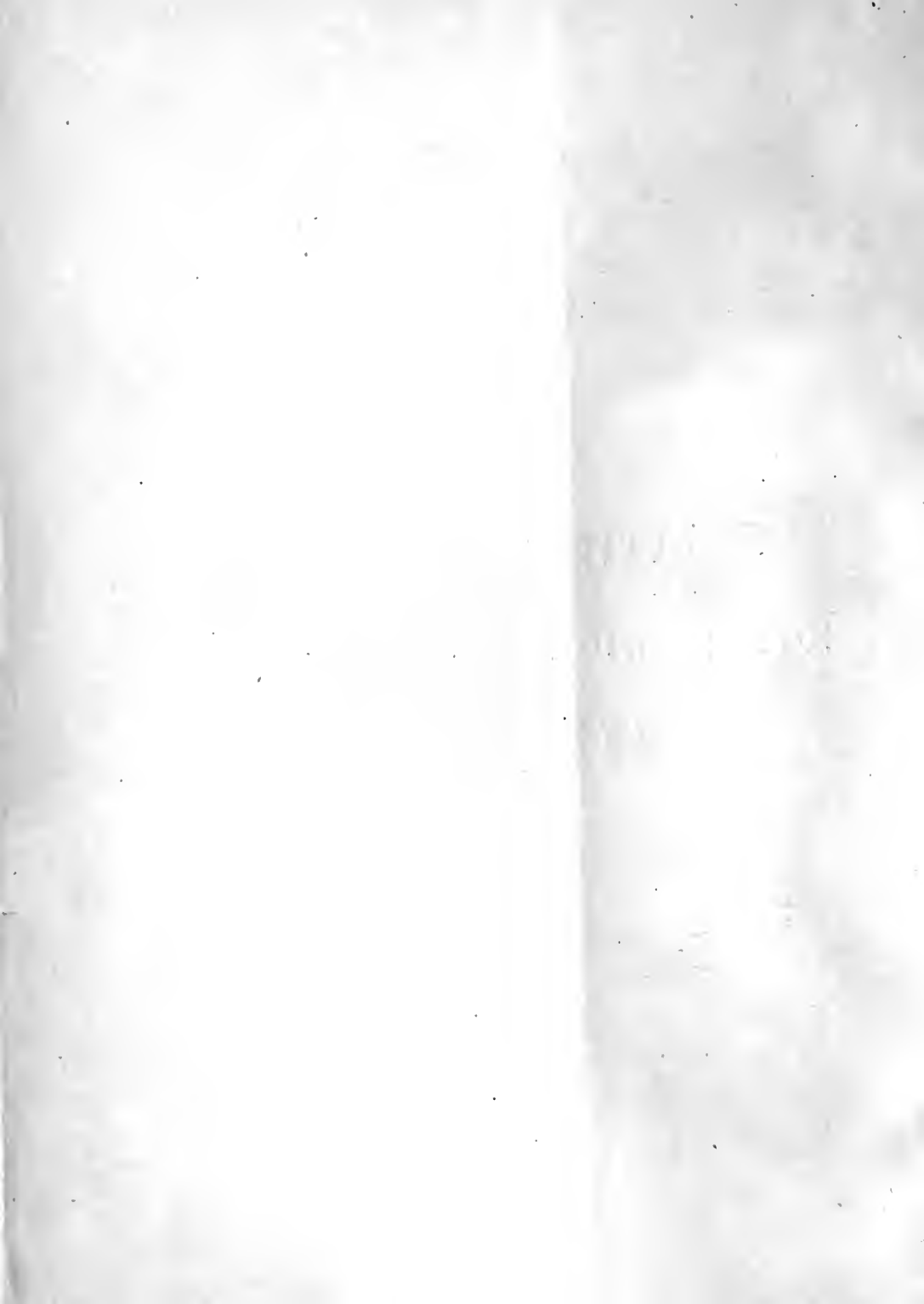
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NEW-YORK:
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1881



Orderly Book
Sir John Johnson
1776





ON December, 1776, Burgoyne, dissatisfied with his subordinate position under Carleton, concocted with the British Ministry a plan for the Campaign of 1777. An army, admirably appointed and under his command, was to proceed to Albany, by way of Lakes Champlain and George; while another large force, under Sir William Howe, was to advance up the Hudson in order to cut off communication between the Northern and Southern Colonies, in the expectation that each section, being left to itself, would be subdued with little difficulty. Contemporaneously with the descent of Burgoyne upon Northern New York, Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger, with the Loyalists and Indians under Sir

John Johnson and Joseph Brant respectively, was dispatched by that general from Montreal by the way of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario to Oswego. From that post, St. Leger, availing himself of Oneida Lake and Wood Creek, was to penetrate the country to the Mohawk river, with a view of forming a junction from that direction with Burgoyne on the latter's arrival at Albany. As is well known, the progress of Colonel St. Leger was stopped at Fort Stanwix; the advance of Arnold, despatched by Schuyler, compelling him to raise the siege of that Fort and retreat into Canada—a circumstance which left Schuyler and, later, Gates, free to concentrate the American forces in opposition to the advancing army of Burgoyne.

Conversing in the fall of 1880, with the late Rev. Marinus Willett¹ of Port Chester, N. Y., a grandson of Colonel Marinus Willett, of Fort Stanwix fame, he mentioned to me that he was the possessor of a manuscript Orderly Book kept by an officer of Sir John Johnson during his campaign against Fort Stanwix in 1777—one of the Orderly Books captured by his grandfather in his memorable sortie from Fort

¹ For sketches of Rev. Marinus Willett, and Col. Marinus Willett, see appendices Nos. I and II.

Stanwix against the camp of Sir John Johnson. The facts of this sortie (which, it will be remembered, took place while the battle of Oriskany was in progress), are told by Col. Willett in his Narrative in these words—which, as the book has now become exceedingly rare, we quote :

“ Col. Willett lost not a moment in sallying forth from the gate of the fort. As the enemy’s sentries were directly in sight of the fort, his movements were necessarily very rapid. The enemy’s sentries were driven in, and their advanced guard attacked, before they had time to form the troops. Sir John Johnson, whose regiment was not two hundred yards distant from the advanced guard, and who, himself, it being very warm, was in his tent with his coat off, had not time to put it on before his camp was forced. So sudden and rapid was the attack, that the enemy had not time to form so as to make any opposition to the torrent that poured in upon them. Flight, therefore, was their only resource. Adjoining the camp of Sir John Johnson was that of the Indians. This, also, was soon taken ; so that a very few minutes put Col. Willett in possession of both these encampments. Sir John

with his troops took to the river, and the Indians fled into the woods. The troops under Col. Willett had fair firing at the enemy while they were crossing the river. The quantity of camp equipage, clothing, blankets and stores, which Col. Willett found in the two camps, rendered it necessary to hasten a messenger to the fort and have the wagons sent, seven of which were stored in the fort with horses. These wagons were each three times loaded, while Col. Willett and his men remained in the camps of the enemy. Among other articles, they found five British flags; the baggage of Sir John Johnson, with all his papers; the baggage of a number of other officers, with memoranda, journals, and orderly books, containing all the information which could be desired.”¹

Mr. Willett agreed with me that the contents of the Orderly Book should be put into permanent form to provide against its loss by fire or other casualties; and he thereupon kindly loaned it to me to copy and publish in the *Magazine of American History*. The Orderly Book was accordingly printed in that valuable publication in the March and April numbers for 1881, though

¹ For an account of this sortie from the British stand-point, see Appendix No. III.

with but very few annotations, as neither space nor time permitted extended notes.

This Orderly Book is of great value in several particulars. It shows, the intimate relation which existed between the campaign of Gen. Burgoyne and the expedition of Col. Barry St. Leger—as, for example, the order given at Lachine on the 20th of June, that the officers under St. Leger and Johnson should send their baggage to Albany in the train of Burgoyne; it establishes the exact number of men engaged in the expedition by the quantity of rations issued and the boats required, by which we find that instead of St. Leger having (as has always been believed) 1700 men, he had barely 950, Indians included; it states the names of the detachments from the different regiments which formed the expedition, by which we learn, among other items, that Sir John Johnson's regiment never, in a single instance, in this Orderly Book, although elsewhere invariably known as such, is called "The Royal Greens;" it affords the means of knowing the true rank held by different officers—as, for example, "Major" Watts is never spoken of save as "Captain;" it elucidates a mooted question as to

f

Introduction.

the rank of Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger, who was made an acting Brig. Gen. on this occasion ; and it develops the fact that possibly a part, at least, of St. Leger's troops joined the army of General Burgoyne, after that officer and Sir John had retreated into Canada, the laughing-stock of their Indian allies. These, as well as many other instances, will make apparent the value of the Orderly Book to the student of our Revolutionary annals.

There is another feature of this Orderly Book which has, I think, a touching significance. I allude to the character of the Paroles and Countersigns. A glance at them shows that they are, in many instances, the names of towns in Ireland, Scotland and England—the homes, undoubtedly, of many of the troops composing this Expedition ; and there can be no question that those having in charge the selection of the Paroles and Countersigns for each day, took special pains to designate those towns which would remind their men of the loved ones they had left behind. *Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.* This action, on the part of the officers, very likely arose from policy as well

as sentiment ; for one can well imagine that the names of their homes would vividly bring to the minds of the soldiers those who across the broad Atlantic were watching for reports of their progress and valor — thus presenting them with a constant as well as an additional incentive to do well. Some of the Countersigns, moreover, such as “Cork,” “Limerick” and “Kinsale” would naturally bring to the minds of the men of the 8th or King’s Regiment of Foot, the fact that their own Regiment was present under William the III, at the beseiging of those places — a circumstance which, in itself, would be an incentive to great deeds.

The Orderly Book is written in many different handwritings, some so bad as to be nearly undecipherable — not from the lapse of time, for the book is exceedingly well preserved in its parchment cover — but from the fact that some of the writers evidently spelled by sound, and were obliged, amid the fatigues of camp life, to take down hurriedly the words of the commanding officer. Indeed, the wonder is that, under such circumstances, anything was written that could be at all deciphered. It should be further stated that while the general spelling and the names of

towns and places have been corrected, the variations in spelling of the proper names of persons have been in nearly all cases preserved. It will also be noticed that the last order is dated at "Oswego Falls," the 31st of July, 1777, two days previous to the advance of St. Leger's army appearing before the walls of Fort Stanwix, and six days before the battle of Oriskany.

Before closing, I desire to acknowledge the kind assistance which has been given me, in the way of suggestions, by my old College mates and friends, Mr. Franklin Burdge of New York city, the accomplished author of "Simon Boerum;" Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, the scholarly editor of "Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War;" General John Watts de Peyster, the brilliant military critic; and General Horatio Rogers of Providence, R. I., who is now engaged in annotating the Manuscript Journal of Lieutenant Hadden of the Royal Artillery, kept by him while an artillery officer in Canada and under Burgoyne. General Rogers brings to his task a comprehensive knowledge of his subject, great conscientiousness, and powers

Introduction.

i

of thorough research—traits which cannot fail to make his work, when published, an invaluable contribution to our Revolutionary history.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

Jersey City Heights, N. J.,

May, 1882.

KEY

TO THE ABBREVIATIONS IN THE

ORDERLY BOOK.



C. (before a proper name) -	Countersign.
C. (in a guard detail) - -	Corporal.
D. - - - - -	Drum or drummer.
G. O. - - - - -	General order.
K. R. R. N. Y. - - -	King's Royal Reg't of New York, Sir John Johnson's Reg't.
L. - - - - -	Lieutenant.
P. (before a proper name) -	Paroled.
P. and Pt. (in a guard detail)	Privates.
S. - - - - -	Sergeant.



FOR

LIEUT. COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMPANY^{*}

1776-1777

COL. SIR JOHN JOHNSON'S COMMAND

AM'L Street, Sergt.; Sam'l Moss,
Sergt.; John Boice, Sergt.; Mc-
Grigor, Sergt. Corpl. Crowse,
Corpl. McGrigor, Corpl. Russell,
Corpl. Cook, Sergt. Hillyer, Corpl. Smith, Corpl.
Campbell, Sergt. Andw. Young, Lieut. Singleton,
Ens. Byrne, Ens. Crothers, Ens. Crofford, Ens.
Hysted.

^{*} ALTHOUGH this title purports to be only the "Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson's Company" (all right flank companies were considered as commanded by colonels as honorary captains but in reality were commanded by a captain lieutenant ranking after full captains), yet the Book, in the various orders issued, is, of course, a reflex of the daily history of the different regiments engaged in the Expedition. These may be classified as follows:

1st. "The 34th Regiment." This was St. Leger's own Regiment. It was formed in 1702 in Norfolk, Essex and adjoining counties; and the date of the first colonel's commission was Feb. 12th, 1702. Its uniform was red, faced with pale yellow.

2d. "The King's Royal Regiment of New York" otherwise called "The Queen's Loyal New Yorkers," "Sir John Johnson's Regiment," and unofficially by contemporaneous writers, "Johnson's

LA PRAIRIE.¹

1776 4th Novemr. *Parole*, London. *Counter-sign*, Cork. For Guard tomorrow Lt. Walker,

Royal Greens" from the color of their coats. All Provincial Regiments, however, were originally dressed in green, and afterwards in red like regulars. This Regiment was made up of the disaffected Tories and Loyalists of the Mohawk Valley, being recruited chiefly from Sir John's friends and neighbors; and whenever, in the Orderly Book, "The Regiment" simply is mentioned, this one is alone referred to.

3d. A portion of the 8th Regiment, or "King's Regiment of Foot," which was stationed in detachments along the Western Lakes at what were called the Upper Posts, i. e., those the most remote from Quebec, such as Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, etc. For a sketch of this Regiment see note in advance.

4th. "Butler's Tory Rangers," under the command of Lieut. Col. John Butler, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson, and who with his men had lately arrived at Oswego from Niagara to take part in the Expedition.

5th. One company of the "Hanaux Chasseurs," picked riflemen and trained and skillful soldiers.

6th. One company of Canadians carrying broad axes to cut roads through the woods for the artillery.

7th. The Indians composed of the Missisagues (a clan of the Hurons) and a few of the Six Nations under the immediate command of Col. Daniel Claus and Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea).

8th. The artillery which consisted of such pieces as could easily be transported in boats, and which was made up, according to Col. Claus's letter to Secretary Knox of Oct. 16, 1777, of two six pounders, two threes, and four cohorns or small mortars, especially designated from Whitehall.

¹ LA PRAIRIE de la Magdelaine (Seig-

niory) is situated on the south side of the St. Lawrence in the county of Huntingdon, L. C. This tract was granted, on the 1st of April, 1647, to the Order of Jesuits whose possessions were once so large and valuable within that province. On the death of the last of that order settled in Canada, it devolved on the Crown, to whom it now belongs. In front of the Seigniory is the village of La Nativite de Notre Dame, or La Prairie, formerly called Fort La Prairie from having once had a rude defence thrown up to protect it from the surprises or open attacks of the Iroquois or Six Nations who possessed the country in its vicinity. Such posts were established in many places in the early periods of the colony, while the Indians remained sufficiently powerful to resist the encroachments of the settlers. At present, none of them retain, either in Canada or the United States, a vestige of their ancient form, while but very few possess even the name by which they were originally known. The position of La Prairie was at this time extremely favorable for military operations, from the numerous roads that diverge from it in different directions, and particularly on account of its being the point where communication could be made to Montreal and thence with the main road leading to St. John's, and thence again, by Lake Champlain to the American colonies. This was the route taken by Burgoyne. Indeed, from its contiguity to the line of boundary separating Canada from the United States, this part of the district was fated to bear the brunt of war against the Lower Province; and in 1812, a British corps of observation was encamped towards the centre of La Prairie to watch the motions of Gen. Dearborn, who had there assembled a considerable force on the frontiers.

2 Sergets, 2 Corporals, 1 Drumr & 15 Privates. The Kings' Royal Regt of New York to hold themselves in Readiness to leave this Quarter Immediately.

1776 7th Nov. P. Lachine. C. Point Clair. Major Gray.¹ Capts Brown & Delly, with their Comps to march off Immediately to Point Clair & to be Quartered as follows: The Major & Capt Delly, with their Companies at Point Clair & Capt Brown With a Detachment of a Serget and ten from the Cols Compy, a Corporal & 4 Men from Capt Watts and Capt McDonald's Comps to be at St. Anns, the Cols Comps and Capt Watts, together with the Staff to be Quartered in the Parish of Lachine in the following manner. The (lower) Capt Watt's in the Upper parts of the Parish of Lachine. For Guard tomorrow 1 S. 1 C. & 9 men. Comps duty 1 S. 1 C. 5 P.

LACHINE.²

1776 8th November. P. McLou. C. Phil-

¹ At the time that Sir John Johnson, in 1776, was forced to fly into Canada, Major Gray, then lieutenant of the 42d, helped to raise the faithful body-guard of one hundred and thirty Highlanders that accompanied him. Indeed, throughout this Orderly Book, one can see that the name "Sir John Johnson's Regiment" is well deserved; for its colonel evidently chose for its officers those of his friends whom he knew by personal experience were staunch and could be relied upon in all emergencies.

² LA CHINE, one of the nine Parishes into which the island of Montreal is divided, is a post-village nine miles southwest of the city of Montreal, and is situated directly opposite to the Caughnawaga village. It is built on a fine gravelly beach, at the head of Lake St. Louis, which is a broad part of the St. Lawrence River. At the time of the American Revolution, it contained very extensive store-houses, belonging to the King of Great Britain, in which were deposited the presents for the Indians as

ips. For Guard tomorrow, 1 Serg. 1 Corporal and 9 privates.

1776 9th Novmr. P. Carick. C. Cork. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Corp & 4 Privates.

1776 10th Novmr. P. Gray. C. Week. For Guard to Morrow 1 Corp, & 4 Privt. It is the Commanding officer's ords, that Capt. Watts's Comps hold themselves in readiness to March to Point Clair to Morrow Morning at 9 o'clock where they shall receive provisions—Capt Daly's Comp are to Receive Provisions at Lachine,

1776 12th November, P. Drogheda. C. Clonmell.¹ For Guard to Morrow 1 Corpl. & 4 men. The Commanding officer desires that the men assist the Inhabitants in whose houses they are Quartered, in cutting fire-wood for their own use this winter.

soon as they were received from England. It is the centre of commerce between Upper and Lower Canada; and boats for the North-west Territory start from here. A railroad now connects La Chine with Montreal; also, a canal to avoid the rapids of St. Louis. It is a place of considerable importance, and consists, besides private dwellings, of a number of store and ware-houses. There is, also, a large dry-dock for the repairing of the bateaux.

It further derives importance, in this connection, from the fact that Sir John Johnson's Regiment was concentrated at La Chine, June 1st, 1777, when St. Leger joined it with the detail of his own regiment, the 34th. In fact, La Chine was the rallying, or rather, perhaps, the starting point of St. Leger's Expedition, as the detachment of the 8th did not join St. Leger until it reached a

more western point, probably Oswego. Capt. Rouvill's company of Canadians joined at La Chine; and on the 21st of June (as appears by the *Orderly Book*) St. Leger left La Chine. On that or the next day, Jessup's Corps proceeded (probably by water) to join Burgoyne's force, which rendezvoused at St. John's. The Standard of England was hoisted on the "Radeau" (a floating battery on a sort of raft-like vessel), and saluted the forts and fleet on June 13 at St. John's; and on the 16th the fleet slowly started up the Richelieu or St. John's river, being joined on its slow progress the first few days by the troops that were to take part in Burgoyne's Expedition. It will thus appear, that St. Leger and Burgoyne got off practically at the same time from the neighborhood of Montreal.

¹ One wonders whether, when the names of "Drogheda" and "Clonmell"

1776 31st December. *P. Howe. C. Carleton.*
For guard tomorrow, 1 Serg. and 6 men. Ens.
Crawford officer of the day. The two Com-
panys that are Cantoned here, to hold themselves
in Readiness to march towards Point Clair Thurs-
day next if the weather permit.

1777 4th January. *P. London. C. Edinburgh.*
For Guard tomorrow 1 Sergeant & 6 privates.
Ens. Crawford, officer of the day.

ORDERLY PROVOST M.

The Camp Equipage to be examined & kept
in good condition—The troops, likewise, will
hold themselves in readiness to march on the
Shortest Notice; they are frequently to be as-
sembled on their Regimental Alarm-Posts, &
March to the Alarm-Post of the Brigade when

were announced to the troops, as the
pass-words of the day, the Irish soldiers
recalled the fact, that those two towns, a
little more than a century before, had
been the scenes of Cromwell's most bril-
liant victories and greatest atrocities—and,
also, whether from the stand-point of
their nationality, they remembered that
it was a war waged by the "Great Pro-
tector" against *their* freedom! and, if
so, did they, as they lay in their tents
that night, reflecting on the order, draw
a parallel between the fact that their em-
ployer (England) was now making them
the instruments for subordinating a peo-
ple, also struggling for their liberties?
The town of Clonmell, especially,
should have recalled these things to their
minds. That town still bears the marks
of Cromwell's siege. The old castle in
the centre of the town, which for eight
days successfully resisted the cannon of

the Protector, can to-day easily be dis-
tinguished from the more modern por-
tion, by its masonry. There is, also, the
"West Gate" which yet shows the
marks of Cromwell's bombardment.
The surrounding country is beautiful (as
I can testify from personal observation);
and on the river Lair, on which stands
the town, some of the finest butter in
Ireland is made. Clonmell, also, is the
capital of the county of Tipperary
which is remarkable for its political in-
dependence of thought and action; many
instances having occurred where citizens,
imprisoned for political offences, were
elected to Parliament while in jail with-
out any expense to them, and against the
combined opposition of the Government,
landlords, and a majority of the priests.
O'Donovan Rossa, for instance, was an
example of this kind.

the Weather will permit—They will practice Marching on Snow-Shoes, as soon as they receive them.¹ Reports are to be made by all the British to Major General Philips,² and by all the Germans to Major General Riedesel where the alarm Posts are, both of the Regiments and the Brigades in order to be forwarded to the Commander in Chief—A Statement likewise to be given in of the Camp Equipage—Reports are also to be made to the Quarter Master Genl at Montreal from each Corps of the Number of Boats they

¹ This practicing on snow-shoes undoubtedly originated with General Riedesel. Indeed, he alone of all the generals sent out by the mother country seems to have put aside tactics fitted only for a parade in Hyde Park or for maneuvering on the plains of Flanders, and adopted such drilling as would best suit the changed condition of affairs. Indeed, during the time Riedesel was in Canada with the "Brunswick Contingent" he, with the practical strategy and acuteness of observation which always distinguished him, had employed himself in drilling his men to meet the style of fighting adopted by the Americans. Thus, in one of his letters, he writes, "I perceived that the American riflemen always shot further than our forces—consequently, I made my men practice at long range, and from behind bushes and trees, that they might be enough for them." *Stone's Life and Journals of General Riedesel.*

In the same way, as will be seen further on, St. Leger insists upon his troops employing their spare moments in practicing at a mark. Both Riedesel and St. Leger were thus only anticipating Creedmoor.

² Major General William Phillips was appointed captain of artillery, May 12th, 1756; and brevet lieutenant colonel in 1760. In 1776, having already become distinguished as an artillery officer, and given proof of exceptional strategical skill, he was appointed major general in Burgoyne's Expedition. At the battle of the 19th of September, 1777, he greatly assisted General Riedesel in bringing up his command, which—together with Riedesel's efforts—was the sole means of retrieving the fortunes of that day. In the battle of the 7th of October, 1777, (fought on the same ground) both his aides were wounded; and he, himself, shortly after, shared the fate of Burgoyne's army, which surrendered to Gates, Oct. 17th, 1777. He followed the "Convention Troops" to Virginia; and having, meanwhile, been exchanged, he was sent from New York in the Spring of 1781, with 2,000 men, to join Arnold, then at the Chesapeake. He did not, however, long survive his misfortunes, as he was carried off by a fever at Petersburg, Va., May 13, 1781. Major General Phillips, at his death, held the office of lieutenant governor of Windsor. *Stone's Burgoyne, Army List, Aubrey's Travels.*

have in Charge, specifying their condition and how furnished with Oars, Setting-Poles, &c.

Signed, E. Foy,¹ Depy. Adjt. General.

¹ Edward Foy received a commission of first lieutenant in the Royal Artillery on the 2d of April, 1757, and became captain lieutenant on the 1st of January, 1759. In the month of July, following, as a captain of one of the British artillery companies or batteries, he acted with such bravery at the battle of Minden as to be specially distinguished on the day after the battle by the commander-in-chief in his address to the army. He was promoted to a captaincy in February, 1764, and accompanied Lord Dunmore, as his private secretary, to New York in 1770, and went thence with his Lordship to Virginia, in 1772. *Burke*, in his *History of Virginia*, says that Captain Foy "resigned his office as governor of New Hampshire for the purpose of accepting the inferior post of private secretary to Dunmore," and attributes the circumstance to "some latent purpose of the British Ministry to employ his talents in carrying out those measures which had already been devised." O'Callaghan, however, thinks that this cannot be the case, as Foy was gazetted lieutenant governor of New Hampshire only in July, 1774, nearly two years after his arrival in Virginia, and four years after he had become Lord Dunmore's secretary. During his stay in that colony, Capt. Foy unfortunately shared much of the odium that attached to the governor, with whom he retired on board the *Fovey* on the 8th of June, 1775. In the address of the House of Burgesses on the 19th of June, following, they accused the governor of "giving too much credit to some persons who, to the great injury of the community, possessed much too large a share of his Lordship's confidence," alluding to Capt. Foy, as "an Englishman of violent passions and hostile prejudices

against us," and who was considered governor *de facto*. The Countess of Dunmore sailed soon after and arrived in England in August, 1775, Capt. Foy returning home about the same time, with despatches for the ministry. In the Spring of 1776, however, he returned to America, in the ship *Pallas* as commissary of the troops in Canada; and in the same year was appointed Carelton's deputy adjutant general, a position which he continued to fill until his death in Canada, in 1780. Both his wife and himself were on terms of friendship with General and Mrs. Riedesel. He accompanied Riedesel to America on board the ship *Pallas*, both occupying the same state-room. The companionship seems to have been mutually agreeable. Speaking of their experiences on the voyage, Riedesel, who preceded his wife to America, writes to her as follows: " * * Near all were sea sick. The cook could not cook. Muller could not dress me. Valentine could find nothing. To sum up, great lamentation and great blundering arose on all sides. Hungry, I had nothing to eat. Finally, Captain Foy and myself cooked a pea-soup in the sailor's kitchen, and eat cold roast beef, which made up our whole dinner. Monday the weather was somewhat milder, and some of the people became better, though most of them remained sick. Captain Foy and I once more cooked a portable bouillon soup, a cod with anchovy sauce, a ragout from roast beef, and a piece of roast veal with potatoes. On Tuesday, the cook still could do nothing, and Foy and myself again did the cooking." Capt. Foy was a man of large frame and of a powerful physique. His wife was an American lady, who seems, at times, to have caused her husband a good deal of annoyance by

GENERAL ORDERS BY MAJOR GENERAL
PHILIPS

MONTREAL 5th December 1776

Officers coming to Montreal upon Leave for a longer Time than two days, are to give in their Names to the Adj't of the week, Marking to what time their leave of absence extends, & by whom given.

Sign'd ARTH. JAS. POMEROY¹.

MONTREAL 12th December 1776

Orders received from his Excellency the Commander in Chief, dated Quebec, 9th December, 1776.

The Commander in Chief [Carleton²] has been

her love of ease and unwillingness to make those sacrifices which are inseparable from the life of a soldier's wife. *Life of Gen. Riedesel, N. Y. Col. Doc.*

¹ Arthur James Pomeroy; at this time captain in the 1st Dragoons, commissioned captain, Oct. 5th, 1776.

² Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester). He was born at Strabane, Ireland, in 1722, and died Nov. 10, 1808. Entering the guards at an early age, he became a lieutenant in 1748. He was with the Duke of Cumberland, as an aide, in the German campaign; and served with Amherst and Wolfe in America. He was governor of Canada from 1772 to 1781, though Burgoyne succeeded him as military leader in 1777, when he received the order of knighthood. In 1781, he succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British army

in America. He was made governor of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in 1786, in which year, as a reward for long and faithful service, he was raised to the peerage, being created Baron Dorchester; and from that year until 1796, he was governor of British North America, his administration being marked by mildness and justice. He was succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest son Thomas. As Mr. Lossing very justly remarks: "It is due to his memory to say, that he doubtless was opposed to the employment of savages against the Americans." He was certainly a very humane man, as his great kindness to all American prisoners proves. His paroling and taking care of the Americans captured by him when he defeated Montgomery and Arnold at Quebec, is but one of many instances of the same character. In fact, Gen. Carleton was one of the best generals,

Pleased to appoint Ensign William Doyle¹ of the 24th Regt, To be Lieut. in the room of Lieut. Robert Pennington deceased. No Adjutant, Quar-

as regards both kindness and justice, that the British Government ever had in America. He was truly a great and a wise man. Gen. Carleton was on warm terms of friendship with Joseph Brant; and I have in my possession letters from Carleton to Brant to prove this statement—a fact which in itself shows that Brant could not have been the "monster" that he has been painted.

¹ The copy of the British army list, which is in the Astor Library and consists of ninety folio volumes (stilted), has been carefully and extensively corrected by the pen of some former owner, probably a military man of high rank, as the book-plate shows. By this it appears that William Doyle became ensign, July 16, 1774, and lieutenant, in place of Pennington deceased, Nov. 27th, 1776, Doyle was wounded at Bemis Heights, Oct. 7, 1777; and being afterward captured with Burgoyne, his signature appears attached to the Cambridge Parole. He seems to have lived to a good age, since we find that he became a lieutenant general, Aug. 12th, 1819. It is quite possible that Doyle was with St. Leger until the latter's retreat into Canada, when he left him to join Burgoyne. We know that it was the intention of Sir John Johnson to rejoin the British army at Saratoga after St. Leger's defeat (*Col. Claus to Minister Knox*), though for some reason which does not appear, he failed to do so. It is a very common thing, for an officer to be detached from his regiment on staff duty. Thus Captain Edward Foy of the Royal Artillery (mentioned in the text), was at this time on detached service as Sir Guy Carleton's deputy adjutant general. Captain Arthur James Pomeroy of the 1st Dragoons (also mentioned in the text) was on

detached service as an aide to Gen. Phillips, though his regiment was not in Canada, nor America during the Revolutionary war. Other familiar illustrations of this with Burgoyne, were Major Kingston, Burgoyne's adjutant general, a brevet major and captain of invalids in Ireland; Sir Francis Clerke, Burgoyne's secretary, a lieutenant in the 3d Foot Guards which gave him the army rank of captain, owing to the double rank which formerly obtained in the Guards; and Richard Rich Wilford, one of Burgoyne's aides, was a lieutenant in the 2d or Queen's Royal Regiment. A military friend, however, does not take this view; and under date of Jan. 22, 1882, writes to me as follows:

"I do not believe that William Doyle was with St. Leger, at all, whether he was or not, the 24th was not, as that was the only British regiment that Burgoyne had the whole of with him. For this statement, see Lord George Germaine's letter to Sir Guy Carleton of March 26, 1777, printed in *The State of the Expedition*, appendix viii. At the foot of the page one would suppose that the 8th and 24th Regiments did not accompany Burgoyne, and were expressly ordered out of or to be exempted from Burgoyne's command. This is true of the 8th but not of the 24th and the error is in the brackets including more than the words '(except of the 8th Regiment).' The order or letter should have been punctuated thus:

'It is likewise his Majesty's pleasure that you put under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne

The grenadiers and light infantry of the army (except of the 8th regiment) and the 24th regiment as the advanced corps under the command of Brigadier General Fraser.' Fraser had all the light

ter Master, or Surgeons Mate doing duty as Such in any Regt is to be returned a Volunteer. A bounty having been granted by the London Merchts to Such Soldiers, or Saylor as may have been wounded, and to the Widows of such of either as have been kill'd in the Service In America, the Pay Master of Regiments, & Captain Shanks

companies *i. e.* the light infantry and grenadiers, of all the British regiments in Canada except of the 8th or King's Regiment. Besides the light companies as above, Fraser had in his brigade, his own regiment, the 24th, he being its lieutenant colonel. The 300 men spoken of higher up on page viii, appendix of the State of the Expedition, were drawn from the 6 regiments of the 1st and 2d Brigades as stated at the foot of that page. Fraser's Brigade was not numbered, but was known as the Light Brigade, and always led. Besides the above authority, page ix of the appendix, State of the Expedition, shows exactly what regular British troops St. Leger had, we know that the 24th was with Burgoyne and that no part of it was with St. Leger, except possibly a single officer might have been on detached service, as it is called, on St. Leger's staff, St. Leger then being an acting brigadier. Of this, however, I see no evidence whatever, and the reference to William Doyle in Sir John's Orderly Book, does not furnish the least possible authority for any belief that Doyle was with St. Leger. That reference is an order from Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-chief in Canada, issued Dec. 12th, 1776, more than two months before Lord George Germaine issued in London his order to form St. Leger's expedition, as Lord George's letter of March 26th, 1777, to Sir Guy contained that order. The troops in Canada were then lying in winter quarters, the 34th, St. Leger's Regiment, being at Quebec,

and Sir John Johnson's being at La Chine, La Point Clair and St. Ann [*Lamb's American War*, p. 112]. The order of Dec. 12th, in Sir John's Orderly Book is, as you see, signed by Sir Guy's deputy adjutant general and is transmitted through the head-quarters of Major General Phillips, and being the order of a superior authority and applying to all the troops in Canada, Sir John's Regiment was as much amenable to it, as any and all other regiments serving in Canada under Sir Guy were; and hence it appears in his Orderly Book. Sir John Johnson's Regiment did not leave its winter quarters at La Chine (that being the regimental head-quarters) till June 21, 1777, when it started on St Leger's Expedition with fourteen days rations. [Sir John's Orderly Book]. The expression, with fourteen days rations, means that so many rations had been issued to the regiment's possession by the commissary, the rest of the stores and provisions for the expedition remaining in the hands of the commissary for future issues.

From all the above and many other authorities, but the above will suffice, I know that the 24th was not with St. Leger at all, and believe that Doyle was not with him, though if he was detached on staff duty with St. Leger that would afford no sort of ground for supposing that any of the rest of the 24th was with St. Leger."

Pennington was commissioned lieutenant, Feb. 10th, 1770.

are desired to transmit to Mr. Dunn Receiver General of the Province a list of the Soldiers and Saylor's who have been kill'd or wounded in the course of the Campaign.' Ten Dollars will be paid to the latter, not having already received it, & Five Pounds to the Widows of the former, Producing Certificates from the Officer Under whose Command their Husbands Respectively Served.

Sign'd E. Foy

Dept. Adt. General.

By order of Major Genl Philips

Sign'd Arr. JAMS. POMEROY,

Aid de Camp.

¹ I have searched in vain among the archives of the British museum and the files of the newspapers yet preserved in London, to find the precise date and the exact words in which this "bounty" (or more properly, pension) was given by the "London merchants." Force's archives also are silent. The only items which are at all germane to the subject are the following extracts. The first, from the *Annual Register* for July 18th, 1776, is as follows:

"In a letter, lately received by the committee at the London Tavern, appointed to conduct the voluntary contributions in favor of the soldiers serving in North America, their wives and children, from the officers appointed by General Howe to conduct it on the spot, is the following paragraph: "This Board, as well as the officers and soldiers in general, are sensible of the great attention which their countrymen have shown them on this occasion; and we flatter ourselves that the future operations of the army, in reducing the deluded inhabitants of

this country to a just sense of their duty, will merit their approbation. The Society may be assured that the Board will exert themselves to render their benevolent designs as beneficial as possible, and would suggest that there should be sent to them soap, leather, combs, leggings, etc."

This, also, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for December, 1776:

"On Nov. 22d, the magistrates of Whitehaven issued an order offering two guineas bounty for every able sailor that should enter voluntarily, with the proper officer, there to serve the Royal Navy, in which they were followed by the gentlemen of the town; so that every sailor, who enters there, will receive £9 4s. The corporation of Newcastle have offered the same bounty with that of Whitehaven."

And again, from the *Middlesex Journal*, London, Nov. 23, 1776:

"Canterbury, Nov. 20th, a subscription is set on foot at Tolpstone, by the mayor and principal inhabitants of that town,

LACHINE

1777 JAN 1st. P. Ireland. C. Scotland. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Prvt. The two Companys of the Kings Royal Regt of New York Cantoon'd at Lachine to parade tomorrow morning opposite to Mr. Henis [i. e. his plantation] at Seven o'Clock, fully accouter'd— The Guard to Mount at 7 o'Clock.

—5th. P. Patrick. C. Daly. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt, & 6 Privts. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day.

—6th. P. Ireland. C. Cromarthy. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 6 Privts. Lieut Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—7th. P. Gray. C. Evalick. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 6 Privts. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—8th. P. Berwick. C. Tweed. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—9th. P. Tain. C. Dingwall. For Guard

whereby a reward of 40 shillings is offered to every able bodied seaman, and 20 shillings for every ordinary seaman over and above his Majesty's bounty, to such inhabitants of the said town as shall voluntarily enter themselves into his Majesty's navy."

In Force's *American Archives*, 4th Series, vol. iv, p. 543, there is a Proclamation by the King, "given at our

court of St. James, Jan. 3d, 1776, for encouraging seamen to enter themselves on board his Majesty's ships of war," and also (Force's *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iv, p. 1468) an "order in council at the court of St. James, 28th Feb., 1776," to the same effect; but have little or no bearing on this particular enquiry.

to Morrow 1 S & 6 P. Lieut. Singleton,¹ Officer of the day.

—10th. P. London. C. Weymouth. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 Privates. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—11th. P. New York. C. Albany. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens. Crothers, officer of the Day.

—12th P. Edinburgh. C. Lieth, For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—13th. P. York. C. Boston. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Lieut Singleton, officer of the day.

14th. P. Philadelphia. C. Charlestown. For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Ens. Byrns officer of the Day.

—15th. P. Dublin. C. Belfast. For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crothers, officer of the Day.

¹ George Singleton of Montreal. This officer was a lieutenant in Captain Stephen Watt's company, and being wounded in the battle of Oriskany, and carried back into the Indian camp near Fort Stanwix, was taken prisoner by Col. Willett in his sortie from that Fort, while the action was still in progress. *Col. Claus to Secretary Knox, N. Y. Col. Doc.* Speaking of this sally, Willett, in his *Narrative*, says: "Several prisoners were brought into the Fort, among whom was a Mr. Singleton, a lieutenant of the light infantry company of Sir John Johnson's regiment. A few Indians and some troops were found dead in their

camp, and, no doubt, several were killed in crossing the river. Upon the whole, the enterprise was successful beyond Col. Willett's most sanguine hopes." We are sorry, however, for the fair fame of this officer, that he should have been guilty of an act of shameful cruelty. Moses Younglove, a surgeon of Gen. Herkimer's brigade of militia, who was taken prisoner by St. Leger, and who, moreover, until his decease at Hudson, N. Y., about 1825, was a gentleman of high standing, is authority for the statement that "Lieutenant Singleton, of Sir John Johnson's regiment, being wounded, entreated the savages to kill the prison-

—16th. *P. Tain. C. Dingwall.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—17th. *P. Armagh. C. Galloway.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Lieut. Singleton, officer of the Day.

—18th. *P. Thurso. C. Week.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—19th. *P. Glasgow. C. Dumbarton.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crothers, officer of the Day.

—20th. *P. Tillibody. C. Sterling.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

21st. *P. Perth. C. Lieth* For Guard to Morrow, 1 S & 6 P men. Lieut. Singleton, officer of the Day.

—22d. *P. York, C. Cadrous.* For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

ers, which they accordingly did, as nigh as this deponent can judge, about six or seven." The original of this affidavit by Younglove, is still in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y.

General de Peyster and Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, have thought that Willett was wrong in his statement (see quotations from the *Narrative*, in the "Introduction" to the *Orderly Book*, and Appendix No. iii) that Sir John Johnson was in his camp when he made the sortie, and in proof of this they, among other things, refer to St. Leger's account

of occurrences at Fort Stanwix," cited by Burgoyne in his defence, in which the writer asserts that Sir John was engaged in the action at Oriskany. Willett's authority, however, for his statement, was this same Lieut. Singleton. In a letter which Willett wrote a few days after the sortie, to a Hartford newspaper, dated at the German Flats, on 11th of August, he says: "One of the prisoners is a Mr. George Singleton, of Montreal, a lieutenant in Captain Watt's company. Mr. Singleton told me that Sir John Johnson was with him when

—23d. *P.* Boston. *C.* Albany. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 P men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

—24th. *P.* Fraser. *C.* Gordon. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day. It is the Commanding officers orders, That the Comps Lying at Upper Lachine Do Duty in Conjunction with the Two Comps of the King's Royal Regt. of New York of Lower Lachine.

—25th. *P.* Montreal. *C.* Quebec. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 6 men. Lieut Singleton, officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* La Prairie. *C.* Lachine. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sert & 6 P men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—27th. *P.* Point Clair. *C.* Inverness. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 6 P men. Ens Crothers, officer of the Day.

—28th. *P.* London. *C.* Barnet. For Guard to Morrow 1 Serg. & 6 P. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—29th. *P.* Inverness. *C.* Nairn. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

we attacked their camp, and that he thinks he ran to the river." But both statements may be correct; and as Singleton, who had most certainly been in the engagement at Oriskany, was carried back to the camp wounded while

the fight was still going on, so Sir John may also have returned to the camp for some purpose at the same time. Indeed, it is not impossible to reconcile both views, and have each one entirely consistent with the true facts of the case.

—30th. *P.* Dunkeld. *C.* Perth. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 men. Ens Byrne, officer of the day.

—31st. *P.* Burk. *C.* Patrick. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 7 men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

LACHINE

1777 February 1st *P.* New York. *C.* Albany. For Guard to Morrow 1 S & 7 Men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—2d. *P.* Fort Hunter.¹ *C.* Johnstown. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 7 men. Lieut. Singleton, officer of the Day.

—3d. *P.* Tower *C.* St. James. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 Men Ens Byrnes. Officer of the Day.

—4th. *P.* Norwich. *C.* Norfolk. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—5th. *P.* Invenshire. *C.* Inveraw. Guard

¹ Fort Hunter (Indian name, Dyion-daroga) now in Montgomery Co., N. Y., was built at the mouth of the Schoharie-kill during the French and Indian war, on the site of the Lower Castle of the Mohawks, which was, at this time, the most considerable town of that nation. It was scarcely a place of defence being, in fact, only a wooden building palisadoed, within which, besides the barracks, were some thirty cabins of the Mohawk Indians. There was a house at each curtain, and the cannon at each bastion, were from seven to nine pounders. It had no ditch, and only a large swing-door at its entrance. The palisades en-

closed an edifice, called Queen Anne's chapel, to which a parsonage, built of stone, was attached. The old fort was torn down at the beginning of the revolution, but it was afterward partially restored and often garrisoned. "The chapel," says Lossing, "was demolished in 1820, to make room for the Erie canal." After the confiscation of the property of Sir John Johnson, the furniture of Johnson Hall was sold at auction at Fort Hunter. When Mr. Lossing visited the place, the parsonage was still standing in the town of Florida, half a mile below the Schoharie creek, and a few rods south of the canal.

To Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Men. For Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P. Tryon. C. Dunmore.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 7 Men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day. It is Majr Grays ord's that Patr McDonell of Capt Dalys Comy & Dan'll Campbell of the Colls Compy be appointed Corp's in his Compy.

—7th. *P. Dalwhinnie. C. Dulnacardock.* For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & 1 Corp. & 6 Men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—8th. *P. Bristol. C. Barth.* For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt & 6 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—9th. *P. York. C. Albany.* For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt 1 Corpl & 7 Men.

—10th. *P. Schanactdy. C. Trypp's', hill.* For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl & 7 Men. Lieut Singleton, Officer of the Day.

11th. *P. Gilbert. C. Tice.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl. & 7 Men. Ens Byrns, officer of the Day.

—12th. *P. Mayfield C. Sachandaga.²* For

¹ Tribe's Hill, situated 20 miles west of Schenectady on the eastern extremity of the Caughnawaga flats, opposite Fort Hunter or the site of the "Lower Mohawk castle." It was named after one of the different tribes or families of the Mohawk nation which dwelt upon it; but whether it was the Bear, Turtle or Wolf tribe is uncertain. It was first settled by families from Albany in 1725. Rev. John Taylor, who visited the Hill while on a missionary tour in 1802,

mentions as worthy of note, that on its top there was an apple tree which produced apples without core or seeds. From its top a fine view is obtained of a few hundred acres of excellent meadow which was formerly the seat of "King Hendrick," the famous sachem of the Mohawks. *N. Y. Col. Doc., Septba R. Simms to the author.*

² The Sacandaga river one of the two chief tributary streams that flow into the

Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl. & 7 Men.
Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—13th. P. Fort Stanwix. C. Oswego. For
Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl, & 7 Men.
Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—14th. P. Niagara. C. Fort Dimber [Dum-

Hudson. The Sacandaga, which enters the Hudson at Luzerne, was the objective point with Sir John Johnson in his raids from Canada into the Mohawk valley. His course, on these occasions, was down Lake Champlain to Bulwagga bay on that lake; and thence to Schroon Lake, and "Crane Mountain," in Warren Co., N. Y., whence there was a direct trail to the Sacandaga River. In this connection, the following letter to Gen. de Peyster is in point.

JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS, Jan. 8, 1880.

DEAR SIR — In reply to your letter asking for some particulars in regard to *Crane Mountain* in connection with Sir John Johnson's route from *Bulwagga Bay* in *Lake Champlain* to *Cherry Valley*, I would say that my attention was first called to it in the fall of 1852, while on a deer-stalking expedition in the Adirondacks, by an old hunter, who had often been surprised at such evidences of careful military work in places where he supposed white feet had never trodden until a comparatively recent date. A careful examination was thereupon undertaken by me, resulting in the conclusion that Johnson's raid either was by no means so precipitate as has hitherto been believed, or else that he had with him a skilled engineer with men under him who were accustomed to work with great celerity.

Although the road is now overgrown with bushes and scrub timber, yet a very little observation reveals a well made corduroy road underneath (still in excel-

lent preservation), with the gap in the forest where the primeval trees were cut down for the road. This road, coming down from the valley of the Bouquet and Schroon rivers, meets the base of Crane Mountain at its north-western side, and following around the base of the mountain leaves it on its south-eastern point, and goes off in a well defined trail to the Sacandaga. Thence crossing that stream it is lost in the forest in a bee line to the Fish House, Johnstown, and the Cherry Valley settlement.

It is, I may remark here, a great mistake to imagine that the whites were the first to know this region—the truth being that all this wilderness was as well known to the Iroquois, not to speak of previous races, as one's own library is to its owner. Crane Mountain at the present time (not so much from its height, though it is a high mountain, as from its peculiar position in the Adirondack chain), can be seen from any direction within a radius of seventy miles. Crane Mountain was of course, as prominent a landmark in 1780, as it is now; and in descending from the valley of the Schroon, it was undoubtedly seen and seized upon as a point to make for, on Johnson's way to the Sacandaga. Indeed, it has been made the base of the trigonometrical survey of the northern section of New York State. I am sincerely rejoiced that Sir John Johnson has at length found so able a defender as yourself, and I remain,

Yours cordially,

WM. L. STONE.

mer' ?] For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl, & 7 Men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day.

—15th. P. Fort Erie. C. Detroit. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl, and 7 Men. Ens Byrns Officer of the Day.

—16th. P. St. Anns². C. Point Clair. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl, & 9 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—17th. P. La Chine. C. Montreal. For Guard To Morrow 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl & 9 Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—18th. P. La Prairie. C. Long Ile³. For Guard To Morrow, 1 Sergt 1 Corpl. & 9 Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of The Day.

—17th. [Sic] P. Eden. C. Adam. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & Eight men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officer's Orders that the Guard Shall Consist of one Sergt, & Eight private Men for the future, & be Removed from here to Lower

¹ This fort is frequently spoken of in the early border wars. It was first built in 1723, and was situated on the Connecticut river on the New Hampshire side, forty miles below Charlestown, or Number Four.

² Lower Canada was originally divided into four districts, viz.: Montreal, Three Rivers, Quebec and Gaspé, in the second of which lay St. Anne. The Seigniory of St. Anne, three quarters of a league wide, by two and a half leagues in length, and granted to M. Lanaudiere, Oct. 29th, 1672, is situated on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, a little nearer to Mon-

treau than to Quebec. On the east side of the river St. Anne, and near the St. Lawrence, is the village of St. Anne, a pretty little hamlet, but having no particular history or traditions.

³ Longueil, a parish or town on the right or south bank of the St. Lawrence, three miles from Montreal, was granted to the Sieur Charles Le Moine de Longueil (father of Iberville and Bienville, and the successor of M. de Vaudreuil in the government of Canada), Nov. 3d, 1672. Near the village, was the ancient Fort of Longueil (built by Baron de Longueil), one of the many barriers against

prob ref to
St Anne parish
Montreal, not far from
Point St. Anne

La chine Where the King's Stores Are, they will keep two Sentries by Day & two by Night, the One over the Prisoners, & the Other at the Kings Stores.

—18th. [Sic] P. Howe. C. Fraser¹. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & Eight Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the Officer of the Day Visit the Guard twice Every Day & Make a Report to him of What Ever happens Relative to the Service.

—19th. P. Johnson. C. Gray. For Guard To Morrow 1 Sergt. & 8 Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of the Day.

—20th. P. Norwich. C. London. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt, and 8 Men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—21st. P. Phillips. C. Fraser. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

It is The Commanding officer's Orders that

the Iroquois, and a military centre during all of the French, English and American wars. Its site is now covered by a well built church. On landing in the village from the ferry-boat on which he has crossed the St. Lawrence from Montreal, the tourist feels as if he had been suddenly transported into some ancient, medieval town of France, to which, moreover, had been added all the peculiarities of an old Canadian town; neat as a pin; grass in the streets and in the court-yards of the quaint adobe cottages; and the people either going quietly about their business, or, apparently in a "brown

study," standing behind the lower half of their doors, the upper half thrown open, staring into vacancy. Longueil, formerly in the county of Kent, is now the chief town of the county of Chambly, and is the summer residence of many Montrealers, some of whom have handsome dwellings on the outskirts of the town. Its present population is 2,083.

¹ Gen. Simon Fraser. For a sketch of this gallant officer the reader is referred to Stone's *Burgoyne's Campaign*, and Gen. Rogers's *Hadden's Journal*.

the two Comp'ys Quartered here March to Point Clair To Morrow Morning at 7 O'Clock. The Non Commissiend Officers will be Very Carefull That The Men Are Clean & their Armes in Good Order.

—22d. *P.* Whymendham. *C.* Attleburrough. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—23d. *P.* Thotford. *C.* New Market. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Men. Ensign Byrns Officer of the Day.

—24th. *P.* Strattford. *C.* Bow Bridge. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—25th. *P.* Norfolk. *C.* Suffolk. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* Essex. *C.* Kent. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

27th. *P.* Walker. *C.* Crothers. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 men. Ens. Byrns officer of the day.

—28th. *P.* Daly. *C.* Watts. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

1777 MARCH 1st. *P.* India. *C.* Britain. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private Men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—2d. *P.* Tyron. *C.* Howe. For Guard to

Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private Men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—3d. *P. Johnstown.* *C. Johnson.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Ens Byrns, Officer of the Day.

—4th. *P. Yorkshire.* *C. Hampshire.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & Private Men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—5th. *P. Exeter.* *C. York.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P. Halifax.* *C. Boston.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private Men. Lieut Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—7th. *P. Quebec.* *C. Three Rivers'. For*

¹ Three Rivers is a town of Canada East at the confluence of the rivers St. Maurice and St. Lawrence, ninety miles from Quebec. It contains, among other churches, a large Roman Catholic parish church, formerly served by the Recollets, or Franciscan Friars; but the Order is now extinct in Three Rivers. The convent of St. Ursule, founded by M. de St. Vallier, bishop of Quebec, in 1677, is also a spacious building. The sisters of this convent particularly excel in the manufacture of very curious bark-work. They use the bark of the birch tree; and with it they make pocket-books, work-baskets, dressing-boxes, etc., which they embroider with elk hair dyed of the most brilliant colors. They also make models of Indian canoes and the various warlike implements used by the Indians, all of which handiwork they sell, for the benefit of their convent, to the stray tourist who chances to sojourn in their neighborhood. "Nearly all the birch-bark canoes in use on the St. Lawrence and

Ottawa rivers and on the nearer lakes," says Weld, "are manufactured at Three Rivers, and in the vicinity by Indians. The birch tree is found in great plenty near the town; but it is from the more northern part of the country, where the tree attains a very large size, that the principal part of the bark is procured that canoes are made with. The bark resembles in some degree that of the oak tree, but it is of a closer grain, and also much more pliable, for it admits of being rolled up the same as a piece of cloth. The Indians of this part of the country always carry large rolls of it in their canoes when they go on a hunting party, for the purpose of making temporary huts. The bark is spread on small poles over their heads, and fastened with strips of elm-bark (which is remarkably tough) to stakes, so as to form walls on the sides." Three Rivers, though long stationary as regards growth, has recently become one of the most thrifty places in the province. The district of Three

Guard to Morrow 1 S & 10 Pri Men. Ens
Byrns Officer of the Day.

—8th. *P. Sorel*¹. *C. Chamblee*². For Guard
to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privt Men. Ens
Crothers Officer of the Day.

—9th. *P. Montreal*. *C. Burgoyne*. For
Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt & 10 Privt Men. Ens
Crawford officer of the Day.

—10th. *P. Carleton*. *C. Phillips*. For Guard
to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt Men. Lieut.
Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—11th. *P. Johnson*. *C. Gray*. For Guard
to Morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Privt Men. Ens Byrns
Officer of the Day.

Rivers includes both sides of the St. Lawrence, and is sub-divided into four counties. The village, itself, besides being one of the oldest towns in Canada, is one of the most interesting on account of its historical associations; it having been for a long time the home of Nicolet (the discoverer of the Northwest), while acting as interpreter between the French and the western tribes. For this latter fact, See, *Nicolet's Discovery of the Northwest*, by *C. W. Butterfield*.

¹ Sorel is situated at the mouth of the river of the same name (also called the Richelieu), which runs from Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence. It was laid out in 1787; and is the only town on the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Quebec, wherein English is the chief language. The river of Sorel is deep at its mouth, and affords good shelter for ships from the ice, at the breaking up of winter; but it is not navigable far beyond the town, even in flat-bottomed boats, on account of the rapids.

² Chambly (the Seignior of) on the River Richelieu or Sorel, and in the counties of Kent and Bedford, L. C., is three leagues in length by one in depth on each side of that river; and was granted, on the 29th of Oct., 1672, to M. de Chambly. At one time, this valuable property was owned by five persons, among whom were Sir John Johnson and Col. de Rouville, the latter of whom is mentioned in the text towards the end of the *Orderly Book*. Sir John Johnson must eventually have lost the benefit of this property, since he was in very poor circumstances in the latter part of his life. "When in Montreal shortly before Sir John Johnson's death," writes to me Mr. Winslow C. Watson, under date of Feb. 26, 1879, "Hon. Dominick Mondelet, then a leading advocate of the Canadian bar and afterwards Judge of the Queen's Bench, assured me of Sir John's extreme poverty, and that he was, at the time, conducting some litigation in behalf of the baronet."

12th. *P.* County Tyron. *C.* Albany. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—13th. *P.* Newcastle. *C.* Tweed. For Guard to Morrow, 1 Sergt. & 10 Privet Men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the Sergts, Corpls, Drummers, & Private Men of the Kings Roy'l New York attend Exercise to Morrow Morning At Eleven O'Clock—they are to Meet at the post above Capt Chenies¹.

—14th. *P.* England. *C.* America. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Lieut Singleton Officer of the Day.

—15th. *P.* Ireland. *C.* Scotland. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

—16th. *P.* Philadelphia. *C.* New York. For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt. Men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that an Exact Account be taken of the Clothing, Shirts, Shoes & Stockings &c of the Men of Every Comp, & the Quantity of them—an officer of each Comp to Attend at the time—& that the Account be given in to the Commanding Officer At Point Clair. That all

¹An old hunter, and a descendant of this officer, is still (1882) living in a log shanty in the Adirondacks, between the Boreas River (a stream emptying into the Hudson) and Blue Mountain Lake—"Cheney Lake," in that vicinity, being

named after him. Lieut. Cheney owned, at one time, a large tract of land in the Adirondacks, but it has been all frittered away except what is held by the hunter above named.

the Officers for the future Attend Exercise of the Men from the hour of Eleven till One in the Afternoon if the Weather Permit. A Court Martial to Sit on Wednesday Next to try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—17th. *P. St. Patrick. C. Chiloy.* For Guard to Morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. Men. Ens. Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—18th. *P. Lochaber. C. Kintail.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Lieut. Singleton Officer of the Day. A Regimental Court Martial to Sit to morrow at 12 o'Clock. Lieut Singleton, President. Members, Ens Crothers, Ens Crawford. To try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—19th. *P. Barford. C. Melton.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Privt men. Ens. Byrne Officer of the Day.

—20th. *P. Hatthersett. C. Eaton.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Privt men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—21st. *P. Dareham. C. Yarmouth.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privt men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—22d. *P. Howe. C. Tryon.* For Guard to

* The words "Howe and Tryon" as paroles and countersigns were fittingly designated by St. Leger, a man who resembled those generals in all their cruel propensities. Indeed, we much doubt if, during our revolutionary struggle, there

were any British officers more blood-thirsty than St. Leger, Howe and Tryon save, perhaps, Tarleton, and Cunningham the keeper of the Liberty St. Sugar House prison, the prototype, by the way, of the Richmond Tobacco House and Ander-

*The word was
the name of a city
the countersign of
countersign always
the name of a man
Both words must
with the same let
Sistett. 1967. 537*

morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton Officer of the Day.

—23d. *P.* Johnstown. *C.* Johnson. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Pt. men. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day.

—24th. *P.* Quebec. *C.* Orleans. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privt men. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day. A Regtl Court Martial to Sit to morrow Morning At 10 O'Clock at the Commanding Officers Quarters. Lieut. Walker, President. Ens Crothers, Ens Crawford Members, to try Such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—25th. *P.* Albany. *C.* Boston. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* Amboy. *C.* New York. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton, Officer of the Day.

—27th. *P.* Philadelphia. *C.* Anapolis For

sonville. The query arises : Were these names given out to incite the troops to cruelty, as were other paroles and countersigns (see our Introduction) designated as incentives to valor? William Tryon had figured as an oppressor in 1768-1771 in North Carolina, and, becoming governor of New York, which he held when the war broke out, like the other royal governors, was compelled to yield to popular indignation which (being a cruel and narrow-minded man) he retaliated as a military leader. It was he who, later in the war, laid Danbury, Fairfield and Norwalk in ashes, when there was positively nothing to be gained in a strategic point

of view, by the destruction of those places. At Fairfield, for example, the brutal Hessians, to whom Tryon gave a *carte blanche* to ravage and destroy, excited by liquor, shamefully and cruelly treated the women who fell into their hands, whole families being "driven into the swamps for shelter against their infernal lusts." It has also been asserted, and not denied, that after the battle of Long Island, Howe allowed his troops and especially the Hessians, to tie up American prisoners and use them for marks to fire at! the excuse being, that "such treatment would keep the people from joining the rebel army, and thus the rebellion would be sooner ended!"

Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Byrns, Officer of the Day. It is Major Gray's Orders that Officers Commanding Comp'nys Give in a Regular Return of different Comp'nys Weekly to the Quarter Master in order to draw their Provisions According to said Return; & When a Man is Absent or does not chuse to draw his Rations, the Officer of th. Comp'ny to wich he belongs is to Give in his name, at the foot of Said Return, Mentioning, if Absent, at what Place. the Qr. Master is to Make a Monthly Return to the Paymaster of the number of Rations for Said Month, & in that Return Give in a List of the Officers & Men who may be, or does not chuse to Draw Provisions. It is Major Gray's Orders that the Officers Commanding Companys will Examine the Accounts Given in to them by the Quarter Master, for making the Mens Clothing & other Necessarys furnished them, & if there are any errors in Said Account, to furnish the Quarter Master with an Account of them in Writing Immediately.

—28th. P. Fort Erie. C. Detroit. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 Pri. men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

—29th. P. Barnet. C. Hatfield. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. the Commission'd Non Commis'd officers & Private men of the Kings Royal Regt'ment of New York to be

under arms the 31st of March, Monday Next at Capt Dalys Quarters.

—30th. *P.* London. *C.* Middlesex. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton officer of the Day.

—31st. *P.* Limerick. *C.* Clonmell. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

LACHINE

1777 APRIL 1st. *P.* Gray. *C.* Johnson. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—2d. *P.* Kinsbridge. *C.* Howe. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt men. Ens Wall Officer of the Day.

—3d. *P.* Honduras. *C.* Goree. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford Officer of the Day.

—4th. *P.* Fraser. *C.* Phillips. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Lieut. Singleton Officer of the Day.

—5th. *P.* Montreal. *C.* Lachine. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens. Byrne Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P.* Glasgow. *C.* Aberdeen. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—7th. *P.* Bristol. *C.* York. For Guard to

morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—8th. P. Wells. C. Lynn. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day. It is the Commanding Officers Orders that the two Companys Cantoond at Lachine Shall be Under Arms to morrow Morning At eleven o'clock at the Commanding Officers Quarters.

—9th. P. Norfolk. C. Suffolk. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Pt men. Lieut. Morrison Officer of the Day. A Review of Arms Accountrements and Necessaries on friday at Eleven O'Clock as the Major desires that the men from St. Anns Under the Command of Capt. Brown be sent to their Companys that they be Provided in time with Necessaries to take the field when ordered, & Capt. Brown to take the Light Infantry Comp'ny, which he is to Compleat Immediately from the Battalion: the old men from Capt. Watt's¹ Compy change their coats with

¹ Captain Stephen Watts, brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson and fourth son of Hon. John Watts and Ann de Lancey, was born in New York, Dec. 24th, 1754. As an officer in Johnson's Royal Greens, he was present at the battle of Oriskany, in which action "he was severely wounded and left on the field, as was supposed, among the slain. His death was reported by Col. Willett in his letter to Col. Trumbull, and by other authorities. Such, however, was not the fact. Reviving from faintness produced by loss of blood, some time after the action, he

succeeded in crawling to a brook (Oriskany creek) where, by slaking his thirst, he was preserved from speedy death; and in the course of two or three days was found by some Indian scouts, and brought into St. Leger's camp."

The above statement was taken down from the lips of his brother, the Hon. John Watts, of New York, by the writer's father the late Col. William L. Stone, and is undoubtedly the correct version. Mrs. Bonney, however, in her *Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, vol. 1, p. 69, gives a somewhat different account,

those from other Companies who shall come in their places; if their Coats do not Answer let the wings be taken off & given to those that come in'; Capt. Brown to fix that as he thinks fit. Lieut. Morrison to change off the Colonel's Compy; Lt. Singleton off the Majors & Lt. McDonold off Capt. McDonolds Comp'y, that they may be no farther Disputes in Regard to the Officers Ranks; & Left by Sir John a list of them to be seen, According to their Ranks from the Adjutant in the Regimental Book.

—10th. P. Perth Amboy. C. Elizabeth Town. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. and 10 Private men. Ens Burn Officer of the Day.

so far, at least, as relates to the *manner* of Watt's escape, which is as follows: "Major Watts [his rank at this time, as I have observed in my Introduction, was captain] was wounded through the leg by a ball, and in the neck by a thrust from a bayonet which passed through the back of the windpipe, and occasioned such an effusion of blood as to induce not only him but his captors to suppose (after leading him two or three miles) that he must die in consequence. He begged his captors to kill him; they refused and left him by the side of a stream (Oriskany creek) under the shade of a bridge, where he was found two days subsequently, covered with fly-blows, but still alive. He was borne by some Indians to Schenectady where he remained (after losing his leg) until sufficiently recovered to bear a voyage to England." Soon after his arrival in England he married a Miss Nugent; and as Gen. de Peyster, his grandnephew, informs the writer, died in elegant retirement surrounded by a noble family of equally brave sons. Of these sons, one,

Ross Watts, was an admiral in the British navy; another, John Watts, was a captain in the British army and was present at the capture of Washington and the battle of New Orleans, and subsequently, mayor and deputy of Wellington, as governor of Walma Castle; and still another, Robert Nugent, was secretary in Quebec and a member of assembly in the Canadian parliament. See also, the *Parliamentary Register* for Watts's conduct at Oriskany.

1 "Wings," as connected with uniforms, were once worn as a substitute for epaulettes; certainly, during the revolution in the English service. They were of cloth; in shape, similar to the strap of the epaulette; and terminated at the end with a gold or silver fringe for officers, and of coarser materials for lower grades. They are sometimes seen in old pictures; and officers of long service have a dim sort of recollection that they were formerly worn in the United States service." *Gen. de Peyster to the author.*

—11th. *P.* Phillips. *C.* Fraser. For Guard to morrow 10 Privates, 1 Sergt. Ens Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—12th. *P.* London. *C.* Edinburgh. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. 10 Private men. Officer of the Day, Ensign Wall. The Commission'd, Non Commission'd Officers and Men of the King's Royal Regt. of New York to be Under Arms to morrow morning at 7 o'Clock.

—13th. *P.* Dornoch. *C.* Dunrobin. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 P Ens Crawford Officer of the Day. The Private men of the King's Royal Regt. of New York to be under Arms to morrow morning at 7 o'Clock.

—14th. *P.* Dunmore. *C.* Howe. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private men. Lieut. Morrison Officer of the Day.

—15th. *P.* Johnson. *C.* Tryon. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and 10 Private men. Ens Burn, Officer of the Day. Its the Commanding Officers Orders that the Compy's Cantoond at Lachine Shall be Under Arms to morrow Morning at Nine O'Clock; the Non Commission'd Officers to See that the men Are Clean, and their Arms in Good Order; they are to Parade at the Commanding Officers Quarters.

—16th. *P.* Inverness. *C.* Nairn. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Priv. men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—17th. *P.* York. *C.* Albany. For Guard to

morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pt. men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—18th. P. Eaton. C. Hingham. For Guard to morrow 1 sergt. & 10 Pt. men. Ens Crawford officer of the Day.

—19th. P. Dublin. C. Cork. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and ten Private men. Lieut. Morrison Officer of the Day.

—20th P. Bristol. C. Barth. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and 10 P men. Ens Burn, Officer of the Day.

—21st. P. Lincolnshire. C. Cambridgeshire. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt. and 10 Private men. Ens Crothers Officer of the Day.

—22d. P. Niagara. C. Oswagoachey.¹ For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. 10 Private men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—23d. P. Derby. C. Clonmell. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day the Commis'd Non Commis'd officers, Drums & Privits, men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York, to Hold themselves In Readiness to March to Point Clair on Saturday Morning 26th of April. They are to Parade at the Commanding Officer's Quarters at 7 o'clock.

¹ Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg, N. Y.), in 1740 known as *Fort Presentation* and sometimes *La Gallette*. It was garrisoned by the French during a part of the seven years war, but was taken

by the English in 1700, while they were descending the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal. Tradition locates one of Gen. Putnam's most daring exploits at this fort.

—24th. *P.* London. *C.* York. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 P. men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

—25th. *P.* Bristol. *C.* Barth. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 P. men. Ens Byrne Officer of the Day.

—26th. *P.* Boston. *C.* Norwich. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 P men. Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day.

—27th. *P.* Hingham. *C.* Dearham. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt and 10 Private men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—28th. *P.* Norfolk. *C.* Suffolk. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 P men. Ens. Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—29th. *P.* Dover. *C.* Plymouth. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt. & 10 Priv. men. Leaut. Morrison, Officer of the Day.

—30th. *P.* Ireland. *C.* Scotland. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pri. men. Ens. Byrne Officer of the Day.

1777 MAY, 1ST. *P.* Quebec. *C.* Orleans. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Priv. men. Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day. the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd officers, Drummers, & private men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to hold themselves in Readiness to March to Point Clair to morrow Morning at 7 o'clock; they are

to Parade at the Commanding Officers Quarters at La Chine.

—2d. *P.* Halifax. *C.* Boston. For Guard tomorrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Wall officer of the Day.

—3d. *P.* Belfast. *C.* Dublin. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day. it is the Commanding officers orders that all the officers for the future to Exercise their own Companys.

—4th. *P.* Cork. *C.* Dublin. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt & 10 P. men. Lieut. Morrison, Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders that two men from each Company be ordered to attend the ammunition tomorrow at 8 o'clock in the morning, & also that the old men who are incapable to exercise attend for the same purpose.

—5th. *P.* America. *C.* England. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, & 10 P men. Lieut. Walker, Officer of the Day.

—6th. *P.* Montreal. *C.* Lachine. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 10 Priv. men. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day. It is the Commanding officers orders that two men from each Company attend constantly every fair day at 8 o'Clock in the morning in order to air the ammunition; also that the old men, who are incapable of learning the exercise, attend for the same purpose with a Non Commissioned officer.

—7th. *P.* New York. *C.* Amboy. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Priv. men. Ens. Crothers, officer of the Day.

—8th. *P.* Guadaloupe. *C.* Lewisburgh. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private men. Ens Wall, officer of the Day.

—9th. *P.* Hanover. *C.* Hamburg. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, 10 Private men. Ens Crawford, officer of the Day.

It is the commanding officer's orders that the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd officers Drumers & Privets March to Point Clair to morrow Morning at 8 o'clock, if the Weather Permits; thay are to Parade at the Commanding officers Quarters.

—10th. *P.* Bristol. *C.* York. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Private men. Lieut. Morrison officer of the Day.

—11th. *P.* Fraser. *C.* Phillips. For Guard to morrow 1 & 10 Private men. Ens Byrne officer of the Day.

—12th. *P.* Edinburgh. *C.* Lieth. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Privt men. Ens. Crothers officer of the Day.

—13th. *P.* Crownpoint. *C.* Tyconderoga. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Privt men. Ens Wall, officer of the Day.

—14th. *P.* Fort William. *C.* Fort George. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Privts. Lieut. Walker, officer of the Day.

The Commission'd Non Commiss'd officers, Drum's, & Private men of the Kings Royal Regt. of New York to March to Point Clair to morrow Morning at 7 o'clock. They will Parade at the Commanding officers Quarters.

—15th. P. Tyron. C. Howe. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Pr. men. Ens Byrne, officer of the Day.

It being Reported to the Commanding Officer [St. Leger] that Several of the Soldiers make a practice of Gunning with their Regimental Fire Locks, he Desires for the future to say any Soldier who shall be guilty of Using their Arms to that purpose, if they shall, they may Depend they will be punished as the Martial Law Directs.

—16th. P. Québec. C. Dover. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt & 10 Pr. men. Ens. Crothers, Officer of the Day.

The Regt. are to keep themselves in Readiness to March at a Days Warning ; the Trowsers & Every thing else to be Ready on Saturday Next: the whole of the Taylors of the Regt. to be kept at Work & free from Duty till then for that purpose—Jessup's Corps' to see that thay are

² Jessup's Corps, or Jessup's Battalion, the names are used interchangeably, or the officers that composed it, with the men that went from New York with them in the fall of 1776 to Canada, were ordered to Sir John Johnson's regiment merely

for convenience in drawing rations, clothing, etc., before the expeditions of Burgoyne and St. Leger started. "The corps were regarded by Sir Guy Carleton," writes Gen. Rogers, "rather as refugees than as soldiers, though they wished to

Ready in Case of Orders for their Marching, & to have their Clothing Ready according to the Above Orders for the Regt.—Corp. Edward Egnue of Capt. Brown's Compy having Recei'd his Sentence of the General Court Martial is now Reduced to Serve in the Ranks as a Private Soldier.

be regarded as soldiers; and finally, in the spring of 1777, a corps was raised known as 'Jessup's Corps'. Before that Sir Guy called them "Jessup's party," and very strongly criticised the use of the term 'corps.'" As long as they were with Sir John, receiving pay as soldiers, he treated them as such, notwithstanding Sir Guy's hair-splitting in regard to them. The 34th entered at Quebec, Sir John's regiment at La Chine, Pointe Claire, etc., and Jessup's corps or party was with the latter. Thus they continued until spring, Sir John on May 16th, commanding that "Jessup's corps to see that they are ready in case of orders for their marching"—until finally, as mentioned in a previous note, they left, June 16th, to join Burgoyne's army. After this expedition, and indeed, until the close of the war, the Jessup brothers were actively engaged in the bitter partisan warfare which was such a feature of those times; and accordingly we find the younger brother, Major Jessup, in the spring of 1781, preparing to head a party from Point au Foz against Palmerstown near the present village of Saratoga Springs. David Jones, so famous as the betrothed lover of the unfortunate Jane McCrea, held a commission in this corps, as did also his brother Daniel. The "Big Fall," on the Hudson river about ten miles above Glen's Falls, where the entire volume of water pours over a sheer descent of nearly seventy feet, is named "Jessup's Big Falls," after the commander of this corps. "Above the fall is what is called 'the race' where,

for a distance of about three hundred yards, the river runs down a sharp decline, gathering strength and impetus for the final leap. Still higher up, is a gorge in the rocks where the river finds passage in a cleft about fourteen feet wide. Here legend says that Jessup jumped across the river and made his escape at the outbreak of the revolution from the sheriff of Albany county." There is also another tradition connected with this romantic river and St. Leger's expedition. Some five miles above the scene of Jessup's feat, near the mouth of the Sacandaga, and where now is the pleasant hamlet of Luzerne, the Hudson, rushing through a narrow gorge between high and rocky cliffs, forms what are called "Jessup's Little Falls." At this spot the river is barely twelve feet wide; and the story goes that, in 1777, a British scout was endeavoring to find his way down the Sacandaga to communicate to Burgoyne the fact of the defeat of St. Leger before the walls of Fort Stanwix. As he approached this spot, he was waylaid by a party of patriots who had followed up his trail, when, to save his life, he rushed down the rocky bank, leaped the river at a bound, and clambering up the rocky bank, escaped. His baffled pursuers sent after him a few shots, but without effect. "After the revolution," says Col. B. C. Butler of Luzerne, N. Y., "Ebenezer and Edward Jessup, who were large and successful speculators in wild lands, and who had previously bought this particular tract from the Mohawks, settled at the

The Regt. & other Partys, Under the Command of Major Gray, are to be Under Arms Saturday Next at the Usual Place of Exercise at the Bay if the Weather Permits.

—17th. *P.* Langford. *C.* Lunsbansborough. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Priv. men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

—18th. *P.* Chester. *C.* Newport. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 10 Privet men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

—19th. *P.* Stirling. *C.* Perth. for guard tomorrow one Sergt and 10 private men. Lieut. Walker, officer of the Day.

—20th. *P.* London. *C.* Edinburgh. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 8 Priv. men. Ens Byrne, Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders that the Volunteers who have joined the Companies to which they belonge are to Mount Guard In their Proper Turn.

'Big Falls,' where, for several years, they did a large and thriving business in lumber. They also built a road from Fort Miller, across the plain and around the foot of Mt. McGregor (near Saratoga Springs), to the present hamlet of Luzerne. The 'Big Falls' was also called 'Jessup's Landing,' from the fact that the lumber rafts from the Sacandaga, Hudson and Schroon rivers, on their way to market, were landed here, drawn by teams around the 'Big Falls,' and then re-shipped for Glen's Falls." This statement of Col. Butler, however, is hardly probable, as

both the Jessups were included in the New York Act of Attainder and could scarcely have lived in New York after the revolution; besides which Gen. Rogers, a very high authority, writes that he has positive proof that at least one of the brothers, Edward, lived in Canada after the war until his death. Edward Jessup was present as one of the chief mourners at the funeral of Sir William Johnson to whom he was greatly attached. *Holden's History of the Town of Queensbury; Stone's Life of Brant; N. B. Sylwester.*

—21st. *P.* Dublin. *C.* London. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

—22d. *P.* Templar. *C.* Preston. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 8 Priv. men. Ens Wall Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officer's orders that the Commisson'd Non Commisson'd officers & Soldiers of the King's Royal Regt. of New York to be Under arms this Evening at the Usual Place of Exercise at four o'clock; the Non Commission'd officers are to see that the mens arms are in Duty order; their Regtl's Clean; their Regt'l hats well Cocked, & their hair Properly Dressed, So as to appear Decent Saturday Next at the Review.

—23d. *P.* Greenock. *C.* Paisley. For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt & 8 Priv. men. Ens Crawford, Officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders the Commisson'd Non Commissined officers, Drumers & Privts of the King's Royal Regt of New York to be Under arms for Exercise to morrow Morning at 7 o'clock.

—24th. *P.* Walker. *C.* Lipscomb. For Guard to morrow, 1 Sergt. & 8 men. Ens Crothers officer of the Day.

It is the Commanding officers orders that the two Companys Cantoond at Lachine hold them-

selves in Readiness to March to Point Clair on monday Next at 6 o'Clock in the morning ; the officers to be Careful that the mens arms, ammunition, accoutrements and necessaries are in good order on Tuesday Morning next at the genl Review. The Commissioned Non Commissioned officers, Drums, and private men to [meet at] roll calling tomorrow morning at Nine o'Clock at the Commanding officers Quarters & to Receive the Deficiency of the Cartridges.

—25th. *P. Inverness. C. Darnock.* For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt. & 6 private men. Ens Wall, Officer of the Day.

The Commissioned, Non Commiss'ed officers, Drummers & Private men to appear at 6 o'clock to morrow Morning at the Commanding officers Quarters in Uniforms with their Arms [and] accoutrements necessary.

POINT CLAIR.¹

1777, MAY 26th. *Parole, Aberdeen. Countersign, Inverness.* For Guard to morrow Lt.

¹ Three leagues from La Chine (16 miles from Montreal) is *POINTE CLAIRE*, now a post-village. It contains from 200 to 300 houses, built with regularity, and forming small streets that cross the main road at right angles. There is a neat parish church, a parsonage house, and one or two tolerably good houses to receive strangers. The surrounding scenery is attractive, and it is surrounded by gardens

and orchards. The houses in these Canadian villages are all built of mud and small boulders, or paving stones, generally one story high, and with doors divided in the middle transversely. The lower part being shut to keep the children in, and the upper being open, the women lean out and talk to each other across the street, in the most primitive style imaginable.

Compy to attend the Qur Master and Do no Other Duty for the future.

—29th. *P.* Phillips. *C.* Frazer. For Guard to morrow Ens Crothers 1 S. 1C. 1 Drummer and 12 Privat men.

The Officers Commanding Companys to See that the taylors keep steady at the Cloathing till finished, no Excuse to be taken: the Regt to be under Arms at 6 o'clock Every morning while the weather is Good; and in the afternoon firing Ball.

—30th. *P.* Johnson. *C.* Watts. For Guard to morrow Ens Crawford 1 Sergt 1 Corpl 1 Drummer & 12 Private men.

The Commanding Officer Desires that officers Would be more Particular in Giving the Monthly Returns—Field Returns, Morning Reports, Reports of the Sick, or any other Returns that may be Wanted Relative to Military Duty—& that they Would furnish themselves with a Copy of the Different Returns that they may have occasion for: the Regt to hold themselves in Readiness to March to Lachine at an hours Warning.

—31st. *P.* Col. McLean. *C.* Majr. Small'. For

² Selected in honor of Major (afterwards Colonel) Small, a British officer in the Southern department, who, in marked contrast to the cruelties enacted by the English officers generally, showed great kindness to the American prisoners.

Indeed, such was the known character of Col. Small, that a billet presented by him was regarded as a distinguished mark of favor; security from insult and from any species of imposition being inseparable from his presence. "What," exclaims

Guard to morrow Ens Phillips 1 Sergt 1 Corpl
1 Drum & 12 Private men

The Regt to March to La Chine to morrow Morning at 6 o'clock—the Officers & Men to carry no more Necessaries with them than what they want for 9 or ten Days to Shift themselves with, what Baggage the men Leave behind to be put in the Store this Evening at 4 o'clock; & every Compy's Baggage by itself—the Quarter Master Sergt to see that there is Cloathing taken for the use of the Recruits which the Taylors are to make at Lachine; what Cloathing is finished to be Given Out to the Recruits; & Sergt Hillyer to pack up what is not finish'd to be Carri'd along to Morrow. 1 S 1 C & 12 Old Men to be left behind as Guard for the Stores & to Attend

Garden, "must have been the delightful sensations of his heart, who, idolized by his own troops, saw himself, at the same time, coveted as a friend and revered as a protector by the helpless families of the enemy with whom he contended! The sympathies of his benevolence shielded them from harm, and was repaid with ten-fold gratitude. He assuaged their sufferings and relieved their wants; and every prayer which they offered to Heaven, was mingled with ardent solicitations for blessings on his head." So heartily was this humane conduct appreciated by Gen. Green, that, towards the close of the war, he visited, under a flag of truce, that general by the latter's cordial invitation, the visit being free from every restriction. After the war, Col. Small meeting Garden in London, told him the following anecdote in these words "I have been sitting this morning to Col. Trum-

bull for my portrait, he having done me the honor to place me in a very conspicuous situation in his admirable representation of the battle of Bunker hill. He has exhibited me as turning aside the bayonet aimed by a grenadier at the breast of Gen. Warren. I would certainly have saved his life if it had been in my power to do so, but when I reached the spot on which his body lay, the spark of life was already extinguished. It would have been a tribute due to his virtues and to his gallantry, and to me a sacred duty, since I am well apprised, that when, at a particular period of the action, I was left alone and exposed to the fire of the whole American line, my old friend Putnam saved my life by calling aloud 'kill as many as you can, but spare Small,' and that he actually turned aside muskets that were aimed for my destruction."

the Sick. Surgeons Mate to Remain in Point Clair to take Care of the Sick untill further Orders—the Regt not to fire Ball this After noon. A Cart will attend Each Company to Carry the Officers Baggage & the Men's Provisions. Compy Duty for Gd. 2 Privates.

• LACHINE.

1777 June 1st. P. [—] C. [—] For Guard to morrow 1 Sergt, 1 Corpl 12 P men. Lieut McKenzie Officer of the day.

The Officers to Attend Roll call every Evening and morning and make the Report to the Commanding Officer. They are to take particular Care that the men shall not be straying from their Quarters: the Regt to be under arms at 6 o'clock to Morrow morning: the Taylors to begin Directly to work at the men's Cloathing and to keep Close at them till they are finished; they are to work in Mr. Pridones Garret.

—2d. P. New York.

The guards to be mounted every morning at 7 o'clock—rolls to be call'd twice every Day; in the morning after guard mounting and in the evening after retreat beating at 7 o'clock—All officers to attend at the head of their Company—all beats to be taken from the 34th Regt—the troops to be exercised 3 times a day for an hour each time—the commanding officers will observe the kind of Discipline laid down by Colonel St.

Leger¹. The kings royal regiment of New York to Fire balls by Divisions till Further orders—the hours of exercise will be half after 4 in the morning, at mid Day and at half past 5 in the evening—it is understood that the mid Day exercise is to be For the guard men only for whom some shady place will be chosen by the Commanding officer—a weekly state of the Different corps to be given in every monday morning to lieutenant Crofts. For the future a subalterns guard to be mounted consisting of one subaltern

¹ Barry St. Leger entered the regular army on the 27th of April, 1756, as ensign of the 28th regiment of Foot, and coming to America the following year, he served in the French war, learning the habits of the Indians and gaining much experience in border warfare. That he profited by this early training is evident from the fact that when he was chosen by George III (at Burgoyne's recommendation) to be the leader of the expedition against Fort Stanwix, he justified their confidence in his advance from Oswego by his precautions, as shown by the orders given from day to day in this Orderly Book, by his stratagem at Oriskany, and by his general conduct of the siege of Fort Stanwix up to the panic produced by the rumor of the approach of Arnold which forced him to raise it. Indeed, as Hon. Ellis H. Roberts says in his admirable address at the Oriskany Centennial, "that he was a wise commander, fitted for border warfare, his order of march bespeaks him."

After his unfortunate expedition against Fort Stanwix, he was promoted in Nov., 1780, to colonel in the army, the highest rank he ever attained; and commanding scouts and rangers on the northern frontier, under the immediate command of General

Haldimand, then lieutenant governor of Canada, he occasionally carried on a guerilla warfare, his head-quarters being at Montreal. It was he, who, in the summer of 1781, proposed the plan for the capture of Gen. Schuyler which, however, failed in its object. In the autumn of the same year (1781) St. Leger, in obedience to the orders of Haldimand, who was anxious to persuade Vermont to throw herself into the arms of her legitimate sovereign, ascended Lake Champlain, with a strong force to Ticonderoga, when he rested in the expectation of meeting the Vermont commissioners Ira Allen and Joseph Fay, meanwhile a rumor of the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown was wafted along upon the southern breeze, the effect of which was such upon the people, as to induce Allen and Fay to write to the British commissioners with St. Leger, that it would be imprudent at that particular conjuncture for him to promulgate the royal proclamation, and urging delay to a more auspicious moment. The messenger with these despatches had not been longer than an hour at the head-quarters of St. Leger at Ticonderoga, before the rumor respecting Cornwallis was confirmed by

one sergeant one Corporal 1 Drummer and 18 privates. The 34th regt to furnish to morrow 1 subaltern 1 corporal 1 Drummer and 5 privates; the King's royal regt of New York and Jessup's Corps to Furnish 1 sergeant and 13 private men.

—3d. *P. Johnstown.* A Strict and Punctual Adherence to all orders Given, is the life and soul of Military Operations; without it Troops are but confus'd & ungovernable multitudes ever liable to Destruction & sure never to acquire honour to themselves or gain advantage to their Country: therefore Col. St Leger Acquaints the Troops he has the Honour to Command, that the few Necessary Orders he means to give Must

an express. The effect was prodigious. All ideas of farther operations in that quarter were instantly abandoned; and before evening of the same day, St. Leger's troops and stores were re-embarked, and with a fair wind he made sail immediately, back to St. John's

St. Leger possessed decided literary and scholastic talent, as is abundantly proved both by his letters to Burgoyne and the British Ministry and by his book which he afterwards published entitled "St. Leger's Journal of Occurrences in America." We do not, however, quite agree with Mr. Roberts when he says that St. Leger was "prompt, tenacious, fertile in resources, and attentive to detail." He certainly made a most undignified retreat, and has moreover, been accused by his subaltern officers of a want of energy. Campbell, also, who was an industrious as well as a careful and painstaking historian, and had many conversations with those who knew St. Leger and in other

ways, had ample facilities for verifying his facts, writes, that St. Leger was in a state of intoxication during most of the time his forces lay before the fort. His lack of judgment is also clearly demonstrated by Col. Claus in his letter to the Secretary (see note on Claus in advance). O'Callaghan, speaking of St. Leger, says, that when he died, in 1789, he had acquired no distinction in his profession, and rather intimates that this was singular. It does not, however, appear to us singular if the statement of his intemperate habits is correct. But although he was evidently a polished gentleman and an accomplished scholar, his encouragement of Tory and Indian atrocities while on this expedition, such as offering in general orders \$20 for every American scalp, which *cannot be denied*, fully justifies the phillip of Arnold when he characterized him as little better than a barbarian. In this connection however, it is but justice to state that many of the British

Instantly and privately [be] attended to without Discretionary Interpretations whatsoever. A Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34 Regt, 1 C. 1 Drum. & 6 Privates: Kings Royal Regt N. York, 1 Subaltern 1 Sergt & 12 Private.

Regt orders, for Guard to Morrow Ens Mc Kenzie.

officers did not approve of the cold-blood villainies of the Indians and Tories (Tories should have been named first, for they often excelled the Indians in bloodthirstiness and did things at which the latter, even recoiled in horror). General Carleton (Lord Dorchester), General Haldimand and even Burgoyne were among this number; and Haldimand, indeed, went so far as to refuse to see Walter Butler when after the Cherry Valley massacre he went to Quebec.

It will be observed that for the purposes of the expedition against Fort Stanwix, St. Leger received, as mentioned in the text, the local rank of *brigadier*. To explain this, which has given so much trouble to all historians from Dr. Gordon down to Col. Stone and Judge Campbell, it is only necessary to state that the British service recognized a number of military commissions which are unknown in others, among them "acting," "territorial" and "local." For instance, in the cases of Carleton and Clinton, they were full generals in America, but only lieutenant generals elsewhere. This explains how Ferguson is variously known as *line* major, *brevet* colonel and *territorial* brigadier general for the command of militia. This also explains why so many officers of this expedition have at different times such various ranks, as for instance, McLean, Rouville, Gray, etc. *Gen. J. Watts dePeyster; Knox; O'Callaghan; Ed.* By the courtesy of Gen. Horatio Rogers, of Providence, R. I., we append to the above sketch, the following notice of St.

Leger, which will appear as a note to Gen. Rogers's *Hadden's Journal*, soon to be published. Gen. Rogers says:

"Barry St. Leger, a nephew of the fourth Viscount Doneraile, was of Huguenot descent, and was born in or about the year 1737. He entered the British military service as an ensign in the 28th Foot, April 27, 1756, and the next year accompanied his regiment to America where it served under Gen. Abercrombie. He seems to have been allowed to jump the grade of lieutenant, and he was promoted to a captaincy in the 48th Foot, then likewise in America, March 24th, 1758. He participated in the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1758, and accompanied Wolfe to Quebec in 1759, participating in the battle on the Heights of Abraham. The last order, given by the dying Wolfe was, 'Go, one of you, my lads to Colonel Burton, tell him to march Webb's regiment' (the 48th) 'with all speed to Charles's river to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.' St. Leger, who was in Webb's regiment, behaved gallantly near the bridge in checking the flight of the French, and was slightly wounded. In July, 1760, he was appointed brigade major preparatory to marching to Montreal, and he became major of the 95th Foot, August 16th, 1762. Upon that regiment's being reduced at the peace of 1763 he went upon half-pay. He became a lieutenant colonel in the army, May 25th, 1772, and the lieutenant colonel of the 34th Foot, May 20th, 1775.

—4th. *P.* King George. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow; 34th Regt 1 Corpl 1 Drumr & 6 Pr. Kings Royal Regt of New York 1 Sergt and 12 privates.

Regt Orders for Guard to Morrow Ens Crawford.

—5th. *P.* Burgoyne. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow, 34th Regt 1 C. 1 D: 7 P.; R. Yorkers 1 S. 12 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 L. 1 C. 7 P. Total 1 L. 1 S. 2 C. 1 D. 26 P.

—6th June. *P.* Gray. *C.* Ancrum. Every

"The Annual Register for 1773, under date of April 7th, contains a notice of the marriage of "Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger, nephew of the late Lord Viscount Doneraile, and fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, to Lady Mansel, widow of Sir Edward Mansel, of Trinsaran, South Wales."

"In the spring of 1776 his regiment formed a part of the re-inforcement sent over to Sir Guy Carleton, and he accompanied it to Canada. He took part in Sir Guy's operations in 1776, and the next year, acting as a brigadier, he led the force which was intended to move from Oswego by the way of Oneida Lake and Wood creek to the Mohawk, thence down the river to Albany, where a junction was to be effected with Burgoyne. The termination of the affair, so unfortunate for its commander, is well known. His report to Gen. Burgoyne of his operations before Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, dated Oswego, August 27th, 1777, is to be found in the appendix of the State of the Expedition.

"Sir Guy Carleton evidently thought St. Leger lacking in vigor in disciplining his troops, as shown by the former's letter to Gen. McLean, which is as follows :

'HEAD QUARTERS, }

QUEBEC, 24th July, 1777. }

* * Lieut. Col. St. Leger may be informed that he ought to have seized and sent down here in irons those Canadians whom he mentions having held such conversations to, and occasioned the desertion of, Capt. Rouville's company. Two men for each deserter are to be demanded, upon pain of military execution, from the parishes to which the deserters belong; and the captains of militia are to be enjoined to find the deserters themselves, and safely conduct them to where you shall direct, in order to their being sent prisoners to the companies from which they deserted, there to be tried and punished."

"September 23d, 1777, St. Leger's force was sent to Ticonderoga to be subject to Gen. Burgoyne's orders, but, as communication with Burgoyne was interrupted, St. Leger did not proceed south of Ticonderoga, and when that fortress was abandoned in November of that year, he returned to Canada. He became a colonel in the army November 17th, 1780, and a brigadier general in the army in Canada, October 21st, 1782, his command consisting of the troops 'on the

Soldier off Duty or Regt work must be under Arms at the times appointed Except those notyfy'd by the Surgeon as too ill to appear—the want of any part of their Necessarys will not be admitted as an Excuse. Coll: St. Ledger thinks proper to observe to the Kings Royal Regt of New York, That the Surest Method of Making the Noble & honorable zeal they have Lately manifested to their King and Countrys interest

Island of Montreal, Isle of Jesus, Miller Island as far as Couteau du Lac upon the north, and from thence to La Prairie exclusive on the south side of the river St. Lawrence.' He was commandant of his Majesty's forces in Canada in the autumn of 1784, and his name appears in the army lists for the last time in 1785. Wm. C. Bryant, in the *American Historical Record* for 1874, p. 435, says he died in 1789, when he was a little past fifty years of age.

"It is not easy from the data that have come down to us to form a clear idea of St. Leger's character. His letter to Gen. Schuyler, dated November 7th, 1781, in reference to some of the latter's silver that had been plundered by a British scouting party, does not reflect upon St. Leger discreditably, but his duplicity in trying to induce the garrison of Fort Schuyler to surrender, cannot legitimately be included under the term, military strategy, and his message holding out the terrors of unrestrained savage allies was so barbarous that Col. Willett characterized it as 'a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry.' The testimony of Squire Ferris, likewise, who was an American prisoner in Canada in the spring of 1779, is of the most unflattering description. Speaking of a party of fellow prisoners who had attempted to escape, Ferris says, 'for four days before they

were retaken, they had nothing for food but tea, and were so weak they could hardly walk. The forces at St. John's were commanded by Col. St. Leger, a brutal drunkard, who ordered the prisoners to be ironed together, and put them in a dungeon for fourteen days, at the end of which time, and ironed hand in hand to each other, they were sent to Chamblee, and from there by the rivers Sorel and St. Lawrence to Quebec.'

"Authorities: *Army Lists*; *Stone's Burgoyne's Campaign and St. Leger's Expedition*; *New York Colonial Hist. Doc.*, viii, 714; *Annual Register* for 1773, p. 160; *Swift's History of Middlebury, Vt.*, p. 92; *Quebec Gazette*, Nov. 25, 1784; *Haldimand's Papers, Register of Letters from Sir G. Carleton, 1776-1778*, Vol. 11, p. 24; *Idem, General Orders by Sir Guy Carleton and Gen. Haldimand, 1776-1783*, p. 208; *Idem, Register of Letters from Sir Guy Carleton to various persons, 1776-1778*, Vol. 1, p. 627; *Magazine of American History*, vi, p. 289; *Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willett.*"

Upon St. Leger's return home after the war, he was stationed for a time in Dublin, where he seems to have led a rollicking kind of life with a few choice spirits like himself. One of his adventures during his stay in that city is given (as illustrative of this period of his life) in Appendix, No. III.

take the Effect they ardently wish for, as well as to Repossess themselves of the peace & property which has been most illegally wrested from them, is to give a Constant & unwearied attention to the learning of Military Discipline which will give them Superiority over the Confused Rabble they have to deal with. All orders Relative to the men to be read to them at the Evening Parade By an officer of each Compy. Detail of the Gd. for to morw: 34th Regt 1 C. 1 D. 5 P.; K. R. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 8 P.; Jessup's Corps 5 P. Total 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 18 P. Ens Byrne for Guard to Morrow.

—7th. P. Oswegatchie. C. Fort Stanwix. Details of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 C. 8 P.; Kings Royal Regt N. York 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 12 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 S. 1 C. 6 P. Total 1 L. 2 S. 2 C. 1 D. 26 P. Ens Wall for the Guard to Morrow.

—8th. P. St. Johns. C. Oneida. A Weekly

¹ St. Leger, like Clinton, and in fact, every English officer at this time except Burgoyne (after his defeat) and the good and wise Carleton, seems to have entertained a supreme contempt for his American foes. Still, Sir John Johnson, from his intercourse with his father, should have known better, since Sir William, in a letter to the Ministry, written shortly before his death, particularly warns them against entertaining the erroneous impression that the Americans *were not brave and would not fight*. *Stone's Life of Sir Wm. Johnson*.

The word "Rabble" however, appears

to have been a favorite one with Sir John, notwithstanding his subsequent hard experience, since in a letter to Joseph Brant, under date of May 16th, 1787, he writes: "I must own I give little credit to the reports of the American's preparations to attack the Posts; * * but even such an attempt can only be made by the lawless rabble on the southern frontiers". British regulars, however, were never just to provincials or militia even of their own side. They gave them invariably the hardest work and no gratitude. See *Stedman* and *de Peyster*.

State[ment] shall be given in to Morrow Morning to Lt. Crafts of the Strength of each Corps. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 C. 6 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 D. 7 P. Jessup's Corps 5 P.

GENL ORDERS.—the Corps Under the Command of Coll St. Leger to be Paid Subsistence to the 24th of August.

—9th. P. Burgoyne. C. Phillips. General Ordes—When any Calash' or Carts, horses or Men are wanting for the service, Application must be Made for an Order from Coll St Leger, the officers and Non Commiss'd officers being in every Sense Responsible for the behaviour of their men must keep a Strict eye Upon their Conduct. By which Means a stop will be put to the Frequent Complaints Made that are not only Dishonourable to a Soldier but some Deserving the Cord.²

¹ The calash is a carriage very generally used in Lower Canada, and there is scarcely a farmer, indeed, in the country who does not possess one. It is a sort of one horse chaise, capable of holding two people besides the driver, who sits on a kind of box placed over the foot-board expressly for his accommodation. The body of the calash is hung upon broad straps of leather, fastened to iron rollers that are placed behind, by means of which they are shortened or lengthened. On each side of the carriage is a little door about two feet high, whereby one enters it; and which is useful when shut, in preventing anything from slipping out. The harness for the horse is, even to the present day, made in the old French fashion, extremely heavy and

cumbersome. It is studded with brass nails; and to particular parts of it are attached small bells, "of no use that I could ever discover," naively says Weld, "but to annoy the passenger." Those tourists, who have visited Quebec and have taken one of these unique conveyances (the only ones, in fact, to be procured) to visit the Falls of the Montmorency, will, on reading this, readily recall his own particular calash and driver with his little red cap and pipe, which he hired on that occasion!

² It is a great pity that when St. Leger was so particular in enforcing discipline among his regulars, he did not apply the same principles of humanity to the conduct of his Indians. Indeed, it is a well

A Patrol must go from the Main Guard at Tattoo Beating, which is to make Prisoners of all soldiers or Non Commiss'd Officers they find in them— They are likewise to order to their Cantonments all Stragglers.

known fact substantiated by the affidavits of Moses Younglove and others, that St. Leger not only offered a reward for each scalp brought in by the Indians, but also in various other ways, encouraged cruelty among his dusky allies. There are many instances to prove this; let one or two suffice. Col. Gansevoort, writing to Gen. Schuyler from Fort Stanwix, under date of June 26th, 1777, says: "Col. Madison was killed and scalped. Capt. Gregg was shot through his back, tomahawked and scalped, and is still alive." "About noon," also says the late Col. Stone in his account of this expedition, "on the 3d of July, Col. Willett was startled by the report of musketry. Hastening to the parapet of the glacis, he saw a little girl running with a basket in her hand, while the blood was trickling down her bosom. On investigating the facts, it appeared that the girl, with two others, was picking berries, not two hundred yards from the fort, when they were fired upon by a party of Indians and two of the number killed. One of the girls killed was the daughter of an invalid, who had served many years in the British Artillery. He was entitled to a situation in the Chelsea Hospital, but had preferred rather to remain in the cultivation of a small piece of ground at Fort Stanwix, than again to cross the ocean."

The statement of Younglove, moreover that St. Leger offered a reward for scalps, bears the stamp of probability. Certainly, in the war of 1812, when the principles of humanity might be supposed to be further advanced, the British government, to put it mildly, approved, at least, of the taking of scalps by the Indians.

In the manuscript history of the 16th Pennsylvania Infantry in the service of the United States during the war of 1812, commanded by Col. Cromwell Pearce, occurs this passage: "In the reports of brigade Major Charles D. Hunter and Lieutenant Hayden of the fatigue party who buried the dead at the battle of York, Upper Canada, now Toronto, made to Cromwell Pearce, colonel of the 16th U. S. Infantry, and upon whom the command devolved after the death of Gen. Zebulon M. Pike, they say: 'A human scalp was found suspended in the Legislative Hall near the speaker's chair, an emblem of the manner and spirit in which his Britannic Majesty carried on the war.' Of this and some other trophies Commodore Chauncey gave the following account in a letter to the secretary of the navy: 'Sir: I have the honor to present to you, by the hands of Lieutenant Dudley, the British standard taken at York on the 27th of April last, accompanied by the mace, over which hung a human scalp. These articles were taken from the Parliament House by one of my officers and presented to me. The scalp I caused to be presented to General Dearborn, who, I believe, still has it in his possession.'" See *Stewart Pearce, in the American Historical Record*, vol. III, p. 420. Before, however, dismissing this subject, the reader should, in justice to St. Leger, be referred to that officer's letter to Lieut. Bird printed in this volume just after the Orderly Book. At the same time, it may be remarked that facts prove more than general declarations on paper.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt 1 S. 1 D. 9 P.; K. R. Yorkers 2 S. 1 C. 15 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 L. 1 C. 4 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

REGT ORDERS—A Regtl Court Martial to sit to Morrow Morning at 11 o'clock, Lt. Singleton President. Members—Ens Burne, Ens McKenzie, Ens McDonell & Ens Phillips, to try such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

—10th. P. Castle Johnson.¹ C. Fort Hunter. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow, 34th to Give 1 S. 6 P.; K. R. R. N.Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 S. 3 P. Total 1 L. 1 C. 18 P.

R. O. Its the Commanding Officers Positive

¹ Castle, or Fort Johnson, an old massive stone mansion on the north bank of the Mohawk, two and a-half miles west of the village of Amsterdam, N. Y., and seen by the traveler on the right-hand side of the west-bound train. It was built by Sir William Johnson, in 1742 (where he resided some twenty years previous to his erection of Johnson Hall at Johnstown, N. Y.), and went by the name of Fort Johnson, Castle Johnson and Mount Johnson. A writer, in giving an itinerary of the Mohawk Valley between Oswego and Albany, in 1757, thus describes Fort Johnson: "Col. [Sir William] Johnson's mansion is situate on the border of the left bank of the river Mohawk. It is three stories high; built of stone, with port-holes (crenelles) and a parapet and flanked with four bastions on which are some small guns. In the same yard, on both sides of the mansion, there are two small houses; that on the right of the entrance is a

store, and that on the left is designed for workmen, negroes and other domestics. The yard-gate is a heavy swing gate well ironed; it is on the Mohawk river side; from this gate to the river there is about 200 paces of level ground. The high road passes there [now the N. Y. Central R. R.]. A small rivulet coming from the north empties itself into the Mohawk river, about 200 paces below the enclosure of the yard. [This stream is now called 'Old Fort Creek.']. On this stream there is a mill about fifty paces distance from the house; below the mill is the miller's house where grain and flour are stored, and on the other side of the creek 100 paces from the mill, is a barn in which cattle and fodder are kept. 150 paces from Colonel Johnson's mansion at the north side, on the left bank of the creek, is a little hill on which is a small house with port-holes, where is ordinarily kept a guard of honor of some twenty men, which serves also as an advanced

orders that the Men do Not wear their shoes when they go out a fishing.

G[ENERAL] AFTER ORDERS. At the Evening Exercise After the priming and loading Motions are over, the 34th and K. R. R. N. Y. will be Joined, the 34th making the Right Wing, while the others form the left. This Body will be Exercis'd by Lt Crofts of the 34th Regt.

—11th. P. [—]. C. [—]. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt to give 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 2 S. 1 C, 14 P.; Jessup's Corp S. 5 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C, 1 D. 28 P.

G. O A field Return of each Corps to be given to Lieut Crofts whenever the Men are Un-

post." The mansion is still (1882) standing, a substantial specimen of the domestic architecture of that period.



A mile and one-half east of Castle John-

son is "Guy Park," long the residence of Col. Guy Johnson, the nephew and son-in-law of Sir William. Like Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall, it was often the scene of Indian conferences, among the most noted of which was a council held between the Mohawk nation and delegates from the Albany and Tryon County Committees, in May, 1775, on which occasion Little Abraham, the principal sachem of the Lower Mohawk Castle and the brother of King Hendrick, killed at the battle of Lake George in 1755, was the chief speaker. At the beginning of the public excitement in 1775 the "Park" was abandoned by Col. Guy Johnson, who accompanied by his family and a few faithful Indians, fled, by way of Oswego, to Montreal. It is yet (1882) standing (the first stone house west of Amsterdam and greatly enlarged from the original) on the banks of the Mohawk, and on the left of trains going west.

der arms for the Information of the Commanding officer—Its Lieut Coll Sir John Johnsons orders that the Commissioned; Non Commissioned officers Drummers and Private Men of the Kings Royal Regt of New York attend Exercise Every Day for the future at the hour appointed. Ens Phillips for Guard to Morrow.

—12th. P. Sopees. [Esopus, N. Y.] C. Kenderwhoffe. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow 34th Regt to give 1 S. 5 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 L. 4 P. Total 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 18 P.

—13th. P. Howe. C. Cornwallis. Detail of the Guard for to Morrow 34th Regt to give 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P. K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 14 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 S. 5 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

G[ENERAL] O[RTERS]. As Cleanliness and a Strict Attention to Duty are Indispensable Necessaries in a Soldier, Colonel St Leger Desires the troops Under his Command may be Immediately furnished with Necessaries & Each a black Stock. Officers must Inspect their Men Every morning, when they will correct any Man that comes Slovenly to the Parade; they will Likewise Remember that for the future he will impute to their Inattention the un-Soldier Like Parade he Observed this Morning.

HEAD QUARTERS MONTREAL

—17th June 1777. G. O. Those Regiments & other Departments who have not Rendered Receipts for provisions & Rum are desired to send forthwith the three Receipts of the same tenor & Date According to a form Sent for that purpose to Complete a Settlement with the Commissary Genl to the 24th of May; the troops intended to Remain in Canada & Stationed in the District of Montreal to Report [to] Brigr Genl MacLean.¹

¹ Colonel Allan MacLean, of Torloish, and a warm friend of Sir John Johnson and Colonel Daniel Claus, with both of whom he frequently consulted, was, in 1747, lieutenant in the Scotch Brigade, which also went by the name of the "Dutch Brigade," from the circumstance of its being at the time in the pay of the States General. In cutting his way through the French lines at the famous siege of Bergen op Zoom, Lieutenant MacLean was taken prisoner and immediately admitted to parole by General Lowendahl, with this complimentary address: "had all conducted themselves as you and your brave corps, have done, I should not now be master of Bergen op Zoom." Having left the Dutch service he obtained a company in the 62d or First Highland Battalion on its organization in 1757. With this regiment whose number was afterwards changed to the 77th, he came to America and served under Forbes at the taking of Fort Du Quesne, in 1758, and, in the following year, was with Amherst in the expedition up the northern lakes. He raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759, of which he was appointed major commanding; but

it was reduced, in 1763, and Major MacLean went on half-pay. On 25 May, 1771, he became lieutenant colonel in the army, but was not again called into active service until 1775, when the scheme was concocted to raise men in America to support the royal cause. With that warrant and some followers, Col. MacLean came to New York in the spring of 1775; next visited Boston, where his scheme got wind; then hastened back to New York; repaired to Col. Guy Johnson on the Mohawk river, and thence proceeded to Oswego and so to Canada, where he collected in the course of the summer, a body of men, chiefly Scotch refugees and disbanded soldiers, formerly belonging to the 42d, 77th and 78th Highlanders, under the title of the Royal Highland Emigrants." On the approach of the American army by Lake Champlain, Colonel MacLean was ordered to St. Johns with a party of militia but got only as far as St. Denis when he was deserted by his men. Quebec being next threatened by the American army under Arnold, Col. MacLean made the best of his way to that city, which he entered on the 12th November, 1775, just in time

—18th June 1777. Promotions. His Excellency the Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following Promotions in the Army Under his Command :

Royal R. N. Y. Alex. McDonald¹ to be Capt in the Room of Lieut. Brown who returned to the 31st Regt—6th June, 1777.

to prevent the citizens surrendering the place to the Americans. His conduct during the siege is mentioned in the handsomest terms. But after all his zeal, his corps was not yet recognized, though he had at the outset been promised establishment and rank for it. He therefore returned to England, where he arrived on the 1st September, 1776, to seek justice for himself and men. Returning to America, he did good service ; and during the Burgoyne campaign he was often trusted by Sir Guy Carleton. This is evident from the fact that, after the failure of St. Leger's expedition, Carleton (according to the Haldimand papers) ordered McLean to take command of Lt. Col. St. Leger's corps and the 31st Regiment, together with a detachment of artillery under Lieut. Glenney to go to Brig. Gen. Powell's relief, who at last accounts, had been attacked and besieged at Ticonderoga by the American Col. Brown." The 31st and the artillery detachment were to return to Canada after the object of the errand was accomplished, but Lt. Col. St. Leger, and the rest of the troops sent, were to be subject to Gen. Burgoyne's orders. His regiment, however, were not received until the close of 1778, when the regiment, which consisted of two battalions, one in Canada and one in Nova Scotia, became the 8th Foot. In January, 1780, he was appointed colonel in the army. The Royal Highland Emigrants were disbanded in 1783 and Col. MacLean died in 1784. *Callaban Army*

Lists ; Brown's Highland Clans, iv, 242, 307, 368 ; *Smith's Canada*, II, 83 ; *Garnett's Canada*, 2d Ed., II, 436 ; *American Annals*, 1.

¹ Alexander McDonald and the John McDonald, mentioned a line or two in advance, were Tory roman catholic Scotchmen, who, until the beginning of hostilities, had resided in the vicinity of Johnstown in the Mohawk Valley. Having been permitted by Gen. Schuyler to revisit their families, they, in the month of March, 1777, again ran off to Canada, taking with them the residue of the roman catholic Scotch settlers, together with some of the loyalist Germans, their former neighbors. In 1778, Alexander McDonald, who appears to have been a man of considerable enterprise and activity, collected a force of three hundred Tories and Indians, and fell with great fury upon the frontiers, the Dutch settlements of Schoharie, especially, feeling "all his barbarity and exterminating rage." One example of his cruelty and bloodthirstiness is given by Sims, in his *Trappers of New York*, as follows :

"On the morning of October 25, 1781, a large body of the enemy under Maj. Ross, entered Johnstown with several prisoners, and not a little plunder ; among which was a number of human scalps taken the afternoon and night previous, in settlements in and adjoining the Mohawk valley ; to which was added the scalp of Hugh McMonts, a constable, who was

John McDonald¹ to be Capt Lieut. in the Room of Capt Lieut Hewetson—19th June, 1777.

Ens William Byrne to be Lieut in the Room of Lieut Grant—6th June, 1777. Volunteer Lipscomp to be Ens vice Byrne, Do.

surprised and killed as they entered Johnstown. In the course of the day the troops from the garrisons near and the militia from the surrounding country, rallied under the active and daring Willett, and gave the enemy battle on the Hall farm, in which the latter were finally defeated with loss, and made good their retreat into Canada. Young Scarsborough was then in the nine months' service, and while the action was going on, himself and one Crosset left the Johnstown fort, where they were on garrison duty, to join in the fight, less than two miles distant. Between the Hall and woods they soon found themselves engaged. Crosset after shooting down one or two, received a bullet through one hand, but winding a handkerchief around it he continued the fight under cover of a hemlock stump. He was shot down and killed there, and his companion surrounded and made prisoner by a party of Scotch troops commanded by Capt. McDonald. When Scarsborough was captured, Capt. McDonald was not present, but the moment he saw him he ordered his men to shoot him down. Several refused; but three, shall I call them men? obeyed the dastardly order, and yet he possibly would have survived his wounds, had not the miscreant in authority cut him down with his own broadsword. The sword was caught in its first descent, and the valiant captain drew it out, cutting the hand nearly in two." This was the same McDonald who, in 1779, figured in the battle of the Chemung, together with Sir John and Guy Johnson and Walter N. Butler.

¹ This officer, of Sir John Johnson's regiment, was killed in the battle of Oriskany by Capt. Jacob Gardénier, an officer, who during that memorable day, performed prodigies of valor. The circumstances of his death were as follows: At the beginning of the action, Johnson's "Royal Greens" (so called, unofficially, on account of their green coats), disguised themselves as American troops and by this *ruse* approached very near to Herkimer's command before the trick was discovered. "Johnson's men continued to advance until hailed by Gardénier, at which moment one of his own soldiers, observing an acquaintance, and supposing him a friend, ran to meet him, and presented his hand. It was grasped, but with no friendly gripe, as the credulous fellow was dragged into the opposing line and informed that he was a prisoner. He did not yield without a struggle; during which Gardénier, watching the action and the result sprung forward, and with a blow from his spear levelled the captor to the dust and liberated his man. Others of the foe instantly set upon him, of whom he slew the second and wounded a third. Three of the disguised Greens now sprang upon him, and one of his spurs becoming entangled in their clothing, he was thrown to the ground. Still contending, however, with almost superhuman strength, both of his thighs were transfixed to the earth by the bayonets of two of his assailants, while the third presented a bayonet to his breast, as if to thrust him through. Seizing this bayonet with his left hand, by a sudden wrench he brought its owner

To Sir John Johnson or officer commdng
the Royal Regt of New York.

WM DUNBAR, Majr of Brigade.¹

LACHINE

1777, June 14th. P. Connecticut. C. Philadelphia.

G. O. The party of Artillery Under Lieut Glennie² to be Reinforced Immediately by a Corpl & 20 Men from the 8th, 34th, & Kings Royal Regt of New York—8th & 34th Regt will give 5 each & the New York Regt 10—the 8th Regt will give the Corpl.

Detail of the Guard for to Morrow 34 Regt 1 S. 6 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 S. 2 S. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps 1 C. 3 P. Ensn Crothers for guard to morrow.

—15th. P. Trenton. C. Burlington. Details of the Guard for to Morrow. 34th Regt 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 Privates; K. R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 14 Privates; Jessup's Corps, 5 Privates.

G. O. A Corpl and 10 private Men with

down upon himself, where he held him as a shield against the arms of the others, until one of his own men, Adam Miller, observing the struggle, flew to his rescue; as the assailants turned upon their new adversary, Gardenier rose upon his seat, and although his hand was severely lacerated by grasping the bayonet which had been drawn through it, he seized his spear lying by his side, and quick as lightning planted it to the barb in the side of the assailant with whom he had

clinched. The man fell and expired, proving to be Lieutenant McDonald, one of the loyalist officers, from Tryon country."—*Stone's St. Leger's Expedition.*

¹ This officer was captured with Gen. Prescott on the fleet while attempting to escape from Montreal to Quebec, in November, 1775.

² See note in advance, under Captain Rouville.

hand hatchets to go to Morrow to lower Lachine at 5 o'clock to cut boughs to Cover the Batteaux. As Coll. St. Leger wishes not to take the K. Regt of New York from their Exercise the Above Party is to be given by the Detachment of the 34th Regt. Officer of the Guard to Morrow Ens McDonell. Compy Duty Gd S. I. C. D. 4 P.

AFTER ORDERS. Its Lieut. Colonel Sir John Johnson's orders that Capt. Lt. McDonell, Wm Byrnes & Ens Richard Lipscom do Duty in this Compy.

Lieut. Morrison, Lieut. Anderson & Ens Phillips in Major Gray's Company. Lieut. James McDonell and Ens Allan McDonell in Capt Angus McDonell's Compy, Lt. Kenneth McKenzie, Lt George Singleton and Ens John McKenzie in Capt. Watt's Compy, Lt. Richard Walker and Ens. Crothers in Capt. Dally's Company. Lt.

¹ Angus McDonell was taken prisoner at the battle of Oriskany, and afterwards transferred, for greater safety, to the southern portion of the state. The following is the parole which he gave to the authorities:

"I, Angus McDonell, lieutenant in the 60th or Royal American regiment, now a prisoner to the United States of America and enlarged on my parole, do promise upon my word of honor that I will continue within one mile of the house of Jacobus Hardenburgh, and in the town of Hurley, in the county of Ulster; and that I will not do any act, matter or thing whatsoever against the interests of America; and further, that I will remove hereafter to such place as the governor of

the state of New York or the president of the Council of Safety of the said state shall direct, and that I will observe this my parole until released, exchanged or otherwise ordered.

ANGUS McDONELL.

Kingston, 12th Oct., 1777."

Whether Angus McDonell violated his parole, if indeed, he was released, we are not informed. It is, however, certain that he, as well as Allen McDonell mentioned in the text as ensign in his company, was the following year, transferred to Reading, Pa., where both were kept as hostages of Sir John Johnson. See *Journals of Congress for the year 1778*, p. 119. 368.

Grummerfolk and Ens Craford in Capt Alexr McDonells, Lt. Moure [Moore?], Lt Wilkeson & Ens Walle in Capt Duncan's compy, till further orders.

—16th. P. Newark. C. Boston. Capt Ancrum¹ is appointed to Do the Duty of Adjt Genl assisted by Lieut. Crofts, Lt. Lundy², Deputy Qr. Mr Genl, Mr Piety conductor of artillery,

¹ Major Ancrum was the officer sent by Brigadier St. Leger to Col. Willett to summon the garrison to surrender. Speaking of this Col. Willett says: "The success with which the sortie from the fort was attended, added to the loss the enemy and especially the Indians had sustained in the action with General Herkimer, created considerable uneasiness in the enemy's camp. The afternoon of the next day the beating of the chamade and the appearance of a white flag was followed by a request that Col. Butler who commanded the Indians, with two other officers, might enter the fort with a message to the commanding officer. Permission having been granted, they were conducted blindfolded into the fort and received by Colonel Gansevoort in his dining-room. The windows of the room were shut and the candles lighted, a table also was spread covered with crackers, cheese and wine. Three chairs placed at one end of the table were occupied by Col. Butler and two other officers who had come with him. At the other end Colonel Gansevoort, Colonel Mullen and Colonel Willett were seated. Chairs were also placed around the table for as many officers as could be accommodated, while the rest of the room was nearly filled by the other officers of the garrison indiscriminately, it being desirable that the officers in general should be witnesses to all that might take place. After passing around the wine with a few commonplace compliments, Major Ancrum,

one of the messengers, with a very grave stiff air and a countenance full of importance spoke in nearly the following words: 'I am directed by Colonel St. Leger, the officer who commands the army now investing the garrison, to inform the commandant, that the colonel has with much difficulty prevailed on the Indians to agree that if the garrison without further resistance shall be delivered up with the public stores belonging to it, to the investing army, the officers and soldiers shall have all their baggage and private property secured to them. And in order that the garrison may have a sufficient pledge to this effect, Colonel Butler accompanies me to assure them that not a hair of the head of any one of them shall be hurt.' * * * Col. St. Leger's deputation seeing no likelihood of their terms being acceded to, asked permission for the surgeon who accompanied their flag to visit such of their wounded prisoners as had been taken in the sortie. This was granted; and while the British surgeon in company with Mr. Woodruff, the surgeon of the garrison was visiting the wounded, Major Ancrum proposed a cessation of arms for three days. As the garrison had more reason to fear the want of ammunition than provisions this proposition was agreed to; soon after which the flag returned to their camp and the troops of the garrison enjoyed a brief interval of tranquility and ease."

² See note in advance on Capt Rouville.

who are to be obeyed, as such; orders coming thro Lt. Hamelton¹ and Ens Clergis² are to[be] Looked Upon as from the commanding officer of the Expedition—the corps of the Batteau Guard is to send a written Report Every morning to the officer of the Main Guard which will Report it to the commanding officer.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt., L. 1 S. C. D. 5 P.; Kings R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 9 P.; Jessup's Corps, L. S. C. D. 4 P. Total 1 L. 2 S. 1 C. 1 D. 18 P.

—17th. P. Fairfield. C. Newhaven.
G. O. The corps under the command of Col St. Leger to hold themselves in Readiness to march on the Shortest Notice.

Detail of the Guard. 34th Regt., 1 L. 1 S. C. 1 D. 13 P.; Ks. R. R. N. Y., L. 2 S. 2 C. D. 15 P. Total 1 L. 3 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

REGTL ORDERS. The Commission'd NonCommission'd Officers Drums & private men of the Kings Royal Regt of New York to be under Arms to Morrow Morning at 5 O'clock—the officers will be very particular that their mens Arms are in Good Order & their Regtls Clean so as to appear Decent at the Genl. Review. Company Duty 4 P.

¹ William Osborn Hamilton, St. Leger's private and military secretary.

² Lieutenant George Clerges of the 34th regiment. He entered the British army

as ensign in the 53d, July 10, 1776; exchanged into 34th, January 1, 1777; became a lieutenant therein November 5th, 1782, and appears last in army lists in 1783.

—18th. *P.* Edinburgh. *C.* Inverness.

G. O. 34th Regt takes the Guard to Morrow.
For Guard to morrow Ens Clergis.

REGTL ORDERS—the Commiss'd Non Commiss'd Officers, Drums & Private men of the Kings Royal Regt of N. York; to be Under arms this Evening at 5 o'clock.

—19th. *P.* Swansey. *C.* Monmouth. Forty eight Batteaux to be Delivered to the Royal Regt of New York; Forty Five Felling axes & 3 broad axes to be Delivered to that Regt. Seventy Five Felling axes and two broad axes [for] the use of the 34th regt which are to be distributed amongst the boats at the discretion of the respective commanding Officers. A number of thole pins to be provided for each boat according to the patterns given to the carpenter, wooden Punches to be made by the boats crews—two fishing lines & hooks in proportion to be delivered to each boat. The K. R. R. N. Y. are to take 440 barrels of provision allowing 10 barrels each for 44 Batteaus—the rum or brandy delivered out is to be put into the officer's boats for security—his excellency the commander in chief has pleased to appoint Rовille [Rouville¹] esqr to be captain in a Comp. of Canadians in the room of Capt McKay Resigned—he is to be obeyed as such—the royal Regt of New York to give the

¹ Lieutenant de Rouville, at one time, "a good officer, very vigilant and active, in command of Chambly. Described as ever ready to do his duty exactly."

guards to morrow. Lieutenant Gummerfolk.
For guard to morrow. 1 L. 2 S. 2 C. 1 D. 28 P.

AFTER ORDERS. The K. R. R. V. York to be completed with 14 days provision commencing Saturday the 21 June—their boats to be loaded at the Kings stores on Friday, and from thence brought up to their quarters the same day to be ready to push off at point of day on Saturday—their Division is to be supplied with three pilots, LeCatargne the quarter master is to give a receipt for the number of barrels and the specie the division carries to the commissary at Lachine and is to be accountable for them. It is expected that the several captains have laid in necessaries for their men for the campaign.

—20th. P. Hartford. C. Milford. The 34th Regt to take the Guards to morrow. Ens Phillips 1 Sergt. 1 Corl & 32 Privates to Be left at Lachine in order to go with the baggage of the K. R. R. N. Y. over Lake Champlain to Crown Point & then proceed after the army under the command of General Burgoyne with the baggage as far as Albany if he should proceed to that place—ten old men to Be left at Point Clair.

—21st. Forty boats to contain 400 barrels of provisions & 7 of rum—the remainder to be left at Colonel St. Leger's Quarters—the barrels to be distributed in such proportion as to make room for the Officers & their baggage. Major

Gray must see that the companys provided according to seniority. The Capt. or Officers commanding compys to be in the front—the oldest Sublts in the rear and the youngest in the center—34 precedes; squads of boats abreast when practicable. As Sir John has reason to apprehend from the many Companys that have been made that there may be many [ir]regularities committed by the men [he] recommends it in a particular manner to all the officers.

BUCK ISLAND¹.

1777, July 8th. P. Burgoyne. C. Phillips.

¹ Buck's or Carleton Island, called by the French *Isle aux Chevreuils*, from the fact that the deer frequented it, as it had good pasturage. In passing on the steam-boat down the St. Lawrence river from Cape Vincent, the tourist will observe a number of stacks of old brick chimneys standing near the shore on the left side, which are upon "Buck's Island." The inhabitants near it have always affected a great mystery in regard to the origin of these fortifications, but, in truth, there is no mystery about them. Bouchette, in his *History of Canada*, published in 1815, states, that Carleton Island was converted into a large magazine or dépôt for military supplies and general rendezvous in 1774-75 by the British government in anticipation of trouble with her American colonies. We should infer, even if Rochefoucault de Liancourt, in his travels, did not say so expressly, that the name of the island was changed to Carleton in honor of that general who was then in command of Canada. The stacks of chimneys still to be seen are probably the remains of those "ovens" to which the Orderly Book refers, in which the bread for the troops

was baked. The English government reserved this island in its sale to Macomb; and, in 1796, a corporal and three men were in charge. The island, however, had evidently been fortified by the French many years before 1774, the time spoken of by Bouchette; for Count Frontenac mentions it as one of his stopping places, in 1696, in his expedition against the Onondagas, at which time, Captain du Luth was left on the island with a garrison of forty men, masons, etc., with orders to "complete the fort." Dr. Hough, in his *History of Jefferson County*, gives the following interesting account of the present appearance of the ruins. "The ruins of Fort Carleton, on 'Carleton' or 'Buck Island,' are the most interesting relics of the olden time within the county of Jefferson. The island, when first observed by our settlers, was partly cleared. It has an undulating surface, is composed of Trenton lime-stone, and is very fertile. The surface near its head, where the fort is located, rises by an easy grade to a spacious plane fifty feet above the river (St. Lawrence) which is precipitous in front and overlooks a small palisade but

For Guard Ens Crawford. 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. & 16 P. the Batteaux to be taken up to the store to morrow morning at 4 o'clock and Unloaded, & such as wants repairing to be drawn up; the Taylors of the Regt begin to work to morrow morning to compleat the mens cloathing.

—9th. P. Frazer. C. Powel. Lieut Burnet of the Kings Regt to act as Adgt to the Division till further orders. A return of the strength of each corps to be given in at twelve o'clock. Capt Potts will direct liquor to be given to the troops

little elevated above the water, and affords on each side of the island, a safe and ample cove for the anchorage of boats. The area under the hill was completely protected by the works on the heights above; and from its great fertility afforded an abundance of culinary vegetables for the garrison. Traces occur, showing that cannon were planted on conspicuous points; and the trace of a submerged wharf is still seen, as are also wrecks of vessels in the bottom of the river adjacent. In the rear of the works may be seen the cemetery, but time has defaced the inscriptions upon the headstones except on one grave, which has the following:

"I. Farrar,

D. 23 Fy., 1792."

Forty years ago carved oaken planks were standing at many of the graves. Several chimneys are seen outside of the entrenchments, and on the plain in front of the fort, about a dozen still stand within the works which are built of stone in a permanent and massive manner, the flags being very small and the bases enlarged and well founded. Near the brow of the hill is a circular well about ten feet in diameter, and supposed to be as deep, at least, as the level of the river; but being partly filled with rubbish, this

cannot be determined. Here are also excavations supposed to be for magazines. The plan of the fort shows it to have been after Vauban, and forms three-eighths of a circle of about 800 feet diameter, the abrupt face of the hill, which was doubtless protected by a stockade, not requiring these defences which were furnished to the rear. The ditch is excavated in rock, four feet deep and twenty-two feet wide. The covert way is twenty-four feet wide; the counter-scarp vertical; the outer parapet four feet high, and the glacis formed of material taken from the ditch. The rampart within the ditch was of earth, and is very much dilapidated; ravelins were made before each reëntered angle; and at the alternate salient angles, bastions were so placed as to command the fort at its various approaches very effectually. No knowledge is derived from settlers of the character or the number of the enclosed buildings, except that a range of wooden block-houses, within the entrenchment, was occupied by a corporal's guard and a few invalids. The premises had fallen into decay, and were entirely without defensive works. A few iron cannon were lying on the beach, or under the water near the shore; and the gates had

when at work as he shall think proper according to the service they perform.

REGL. ORDERS. Lt. McDonell, I S. I C. I D. & 16 P.

—10th. GENL ORDERS. by Brigadier Genl St. Leger. Lt. Colonel St. Leger is appointed to act as Brigadier Genl; Chevelier St. Oaris appointed Lt. in Capt. Buville's [Rouville's] Compy of Canadians. Two Subalterns and 50 men to attend the Deputy Qr Master General to Clear Ground sufficient to exercise the army; the party

been robbed of their hinges for the iron which had been pawned by the soldiers. The premises have at all times furnished a great abundance of relics, among which were coins, buttons, etc., whose inscriptions and devices, without exception indicate an English origin, and a period not earlier than the French war. The figures '34,' '22,' '29,' '84,' '21,' '31,' etc., which occur on the buttons found, often accompanied by the device of the thistle, anchor, crown, etc., doubtless designate the regiments to which their wearers belonged. This station was used by the English during and after the Revolution and garrisoned by invalid troops. Having carefully examined every author we have been unable to ascertain the precise time of the erection of this fort. It certainly did not exist before 1758 [Dr. Hough is not speaking of the fort built by Frontenac but of the more modern one] as it does not occur in any of the list of stations previous to that period; but a MS. is preserved among the Paris documents in the archives of the State at Albany, that throws some light upon the subject. From this it appears that, in November, 1758, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, at that time, governor of Canada, had drawn up

a paper on the defences of that country, which was submitted to the Marquis de Montcalm for his revision, and met with his entire approval. He proposed to send 1,500 men to defend the approaches of Canada, on the side of Lake Ontario, by the erection of a post at the head of the St. Lawrence and laid out after the plans of M. de Fonteloy, who was to be sent for that purpose. The station, thus chosen and fortified, would, at the same time, become the head of the frontier and an entrepôt for every military operation in that quarter, instead of Frontenac, 'which can never be regarded as such, as the English might enter the St. Lawrence without exposing themselves, or giving any knowledge of their passage.' The place was to be made susceptible of defence by an army and have magazines for stores and barracks for the lodgment of troops in the winter. It was intended that the proposed work should be adequate with those lower down for the defence of the latter; and it was designed to put in command an active, disinterested and capable man to accelerate the work and render the operation complete. Such a man the chevalier was considered to be, and he was accordingly named as the per-

to be furnished with proper Utensils for that purpose. The Kings Regt. and the 34th form one Corps [and] will encamp on the right. The Hessian Chasseurs on the Left, and the R. R. of New York in the center, Lt. Collerten will choose out the proposed ground on the Right of the Army for his party of Artillery and will begin Immediately to prepare Bark Huts for His Ammunition. The Irregulars will be arranged by the Deputy Qr Master Genl. Colonel Close [Col. Daniel Claus] will take ground for the Indian Allies.'

Signed Wm Crofts, Lt 34th Regt.

son to have the chief direction and command of the work. Such are the outlines of the plan; and the means within our reach have not enabled us to learn whether or not they were carried out to the extent contemplated at that time. No one can stand upon the spot occupied by this ruin and survey its natural advantages for defence, the ample bay for shipping which it overlooks, and the complete command of the channel which it affords without being convinced that its site was admirably chosen, and that, in its selection, the projectors were guided by much discretion.'"

Mr. L. B. Pike, of Saratoga Springs, who takes great interest in such matters, and who, having spent many summers on the St. Lawrence, has made a study of this island, writes to me as follows, under date of Aug. 9th, 1881: "Carleton, or Buck's Island is situated about five miles down the St. Lawrence from Light House Point and east of Cape Vincent, and is probably three miles long by half a mile broad. Fort Carleton was at the extreme west end of the island; for, at the present time, there is nothing left of the fort save a few chimneys with their fire-places,

both of which are in a perfect state of preservation, the latter being thirty feet high. The well, which was dug for the use of the garrison inside of the walls through a sandstone rock and which is one hundred and fifty feet deep, is still intact. The fortifications extended from one side of the island to the other, making access to the water easy on either side. The island, which is quite precipitous, is one solid piece of rock having a layer of earth on the top two feet and one-half in depth. This soil is quite fertile and sustains several beautiful farms and orchards. For three-quarters of a mile west of Carleton Island the water is so shoal that, at times, a row-boat can scarcely be taken over it. Very deep water is then met with, and finally another shoal which runs out from the eastward of Wolf Island. The distance between these shoals is about forty rods. The fishing along the shoals for bass and muscalonge [Mr. Pike is the champion fisherman of that region] is the best in this part of the river. 'Wolf Island' [originally called Wolf Island, then Long Island and now again Wolf Island, see *Bouchette*] lies some two miles west

For this Duty Ks Regt 1 L. 16 P.; R. R. N. Y. 1 L. 1 S. 1 C. 34 P. For Guard Ens McKenzie.

It is the Commanding officer's Orders that Jos. Locks & John Laurance be appointed Serpts in Capt Duvan's Compy; Jacob Shall, Wm. Taylor, Phillip Coach, Corpls in said Compy and be obeyed as such.

and up the river from Carleton Island. Button Bay on its east end, was undoubtedly the regular camp of the Indians employed in either the French or English service, perhaps both, for, at the present time, you may pick up stone arrow-heads in the water. Three years ago, several feet of the shore of Button Bay was washed away by a strong east wind, disclosing a large Indian burial ground. Here my daughter and Mr. H. M. Livingston of Saratoga Springs found some large Indian spears and innumerable arrow-heads, and also some skulls. These skulls, which were incased in mica (the work of the Indians before burial) were even to the teeth as well preserved as if they had been found in a peat bed. At this point a mound was discovered. The skeletons found in it showed that the burials had taken place in a time of peace, as the bodies had been laid in perfect order instead of having been hurriedly piled promiscuously on top of each other. Another circumstance which leads me to suppose this to have been an Indian camp during our early colonial history, is that people have often found here musket barrels, very long, like the old fashioned French fowling-pieces. I send you with this letter a remarkably perfect arrow-head, I found at this place a week since."

Carleton Island was also, during the Revolution used as a rendezvous whence General Haldimand was in the habit of sending out scalping-parties to annoy our

frontiers. Thus, Col. Daniel Claus in writing from Montreal to Thayendangea (Brant) under date of March 3d, 1781, says:

"The General [Haldimand] has for some time intended sending a party of about sixty chosen loyalists, under the command of Major Jessup, toward Fort Edward; this party might join you against Palmerstown [near the present village of Saratoga Springs, N. Y.,] could you ascertain the time and place, which might be nearly done by calculating the time your express would take to come from Carleton Island, your march from thence, and Major Jessup's from Point au Fez, alias Nikadiyooni. * * * Should you upon this adopt the general's offer and opinion, and proceed from Carleton Island to Palmerstown, which place I am sure several of Major Ross's men and others at the island are well acquainted with, I wish you the aid of Providence with all the success imaginable; in which case it will be one of the most essential services you have rendered your king this war, and cannot but by him be noticed and rewarded; your return by Canada will be the shortest and most eligible, and we shall be very happy to see you here." And, again, as a postscript to the same letter, he writes: "P. S. The great advantage of setting out from Carleton Island, is the route, which is so unexpected a one, that there is hardly any doubt but you will surprise them, which is a great

—11th. *P.* Fort St. Ann.¹ *C.* Noadwilley.

G. O. Lt. Crofts of the 34th Regt is appointed Major of Brigade for this expedition. Guards to Mount every morning at 8 o'clock, the Retreat to be at 7 o'clock in the evening and tattoo at 9 o'clock. An officer of each Corps to attend for Genl Orders at the Major of Brigades's tent every Day at 12 o'clock. One Sergt and 8 private men of Captain Buvelles Company of Canadians to parade to Morrow morning to go to Oswegatchie for Provisions and 4 privates will parade at the same hour, who will receive further orders from Lt. Rudyard Engineer.

REGTL O. For Guard to morrow, 1 S. 1 C. D. 8 P. men. Ens McKenzie is to do [duty] in Capt McDonell's Compy, Ens Crothers in Major Grays, & Ens Crawford in Capt Daly's till further orders.

The officers commanding compys to give in their Monthly Return to morrow morning at 6 o'clock and be very carefull that they are not false. Compy Duty Gd 1 D. 3 P.

—12th. *P.* Gray. *C.* Mohock River. His Majesty has been Pleased to appoint Coll. Claus²

point gained. Whereas, were you to set out from Canada, there are so many friends, both whites and Indians, to the rebel cause, that you could not well get to the place undiscovered, which would not do so well. D. C."

I am also indebted to Mr. B. B. Burt, of Oswego, N. Y., for valuable information about this island.

¹ Not to be confounded with Fort Anne in Washington Co., N. Y. The Fort St. Anne here mentioned was situated on the upper portion of the island of Montreal, and was often the object of Iroquois attacks. One of the wards of the city of Montreal still retains the name.

² Colonel Daniel Claus or *Clause*, as

to be superintendent of the Indian Department on this expedition; A Sub. of the Day is constantly to remain in Camp who will see all public orders executed and to whom all reports of any thing extraordinary will be made for the information of the Brigadier. All orders relative to the Soldiers shall be read to them at the Evening Parade by an officer of the Company. For fatigue to morrow—K's Regt 22 P.; K's R. N. Y., 1 S. 36 P.; Canadians, 1 S. 12 P. The Kings Regt to Give the Sub. of the Day to morrow.

the name is sometimes written, was probably a native of the Mohawk valley, where he acquired in early life a knowledge of the Iroquois language, and was in consequence attached as interpreter to the department of General Sir William Johnson, whom he accompanied as lieutenant of rangers in the expedition against Dieskau. In 1756, he was appointed lieutenant in the 60th or Royal American regiment, and continued at Johnstown, or thereabouts, until 1759, when he accompanied the expedition to Niagara, whence he went with the army to Montreal, where he was stationed as superintendent of the Canadian Indians. On the 6th of July, 1761, he was promoted to a captaincy in the 60th but went on half-pay in 1763, on the reduction of his regiment. Having returned to Fort Johnson, he continued to act as one of Sir William's deputies, and in 1766, assisted at the treaty concluded with Pontiac at Lake Ontario. In 1767, he went back to Canada, but did not remain there, for having married one of the daughters of Sir William Johnson, by whom he was greatly beloved, he resided near Johnstown until the breaking out of the Revolution, when he retired to Canada. He visited England with Grant in 1776, and arrived in Quebec, 1st June, 1777, with a commission as deputy super-

intendent of, and with instructions to bring the Indians to coöperate with the British army in the campaign of that year. He accordingly accompanied those tribes in the expedition against Fort Stanwix under Brigadier General St. Leger, who commended his exertions on that occasion. Col. Claus, however, did not, by any means reciprocate these sentiments of St. Leger. In a letter, dated at Montreal, Oct. 16th, 1777, he complains bitterly of the obstacles which had been thrown in his way in assembling and equipping with arms and vermilion the Indians under his command, and plainly hints that the failure of the expedition against Fort Stanwix was due to the lack of judgment on the part of its commanding general. "The Missisagues and Six Nations," he writes, "St. Leger intended should accompany him in an alert [i. e., a scouting party] to Fort Stanwix by a short cut through the woods, from a place called Salmon creek on Lake Ontario, about twenty miles from Oswego, in order to surprise the garrison and take it with small arms. Between sixty and seventy leagues from Montreal my reconnoitering party returned and met me with five prisoners. I immediately forwarded the prisoners to the Brigadier [St. Leger] who was about fifteen leagues in our rear. * *

—13th. P. Carleton. C. McClain [McLean]. The state of provisions at this post to be given by the D. Commissary general as soon as possible this day [to] the Brigadier—no bisquet to be delivered but by his particular orders, or small barrels of pork to be broke open; no arrears of provisions to be recd at this post; such persons as may have any rations due to them to this day and properly certified to the D. C. General may receive the value of them in cash, the usual drawback being made at 6½ pds. ration, or a certificate from him that such Rations are due, which will

On St. Leger's arrival within a few leagues of Buck Island, he sent for me, and talking over the intelligence the rebel prisoners gave, he owned that if they intended to defend themselves in that fort, our artillery was not sufficient to take it. * * * I told him that having examined them separately they agreed in their story. And here the Brigadier [St. Leger] had still an opportunity and time of sending for a better train of artillery and waiting for the junction of the Chasseurs, which must have secured us success, as every one will allow. However, he was still full of his *alert* [the scout] making but little of the prisoners' intelligence. On his arrival at Buck Island the 8th July, he put me in orders as superintendent of the expedition and empowered me to act to the best of my judgment for his Majesty's service in the management of the Indians on the expedition as well as what regarded their equipments, presents, etc., he being an entire stranger thereto. There was then a vessel at the island which had some Indian goods on board, which Col. Butler had procured for the expedition but upon examination I found that almost every one of the above articles I demanded at Montreal were deficient and a mere im-

possibility to procure them at Buck Island had I not luckily provided some of those articles before I left Montreal, at my own risque, and with difficulty. Brigadier St. Leger found out thirty stands of arms in the artillery store at Swegachy and I added all my eloquence to satisfy the Indians about the rest." Col. Claus consequently found himself finally greatly out of pocket for sums advanced by himself for the Indian expenses of the expedition; and Carleton putting off payment on various pretexts, he was obliged to go to Montreal to arrange matters with the people from whom he had obtained the Indian goods. "Such like freques and jealousies," he says, "I am afraid have been rather hurtful to our northern operations last campaign." After peace was declared, he went to England to obtain some remuneration for his losses, as his name had been included in the outlawry act, and his property confiscated. He died at Cardiff, Wales, in the latter part of 1787. His wife survived him thirteen years and died in Canada in 1801. His son succeeded him as deputy superintendent of Indian affairs in Canada. Col. Claus's early and long connection with the Indian departments as interpreter ren-

be delivered from the Kings Stores at a more convenient time; no person to draw more than one ration pr day viz: 1½ lb of flour, 1½ of Beef or 10 oz. of pork, & such troops as choose to draw one pound of flour pr. day shall receive from the D. Q. master General the value weekly of the remainder at 1½ lbs.; all public store[s] not immediately pertaining to any particular corps to be put in charge of the Detachments under the orders of Capt Potts of the King's Regt. at this post; the Detachment of the King under the Command of Capt Lanotts's will furnish a relief of 1 Sergt 1 Corpral and 12 privates every day to the above Detachment. The D. Quarter-master General will direct a hut to be built immediately within the lines of the incampment of Capt Potts's Detachment to receive all publick stores and is to be sufficient to protect them from the weather; each Corps shall receive under their

dered him thoroughly conversant with the Iroquois tongue. His services were therefore highly useful in superintending the publication of a correct translation into the Mohawk language of the *Book of Common Prayer*, one thousand copies of which were ordered by Gov. Haldimand, at the request of the Mohawk Indians to be printed under the supervision of Col. Claus, "who," the preface states, "read and understood the Mohawk language so as to undertake the correction of the book for the press." This edition soon became exhausted; thereupon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts resolved to have a new edition printed, especially as Col. Claus, who was in England at the time, consented to super-

intend the impression, critically revise the whole, and correct the sheets as they came from the press. "His accurate knowledge of the Mohawk language," continues the preface, "qualified him for the undertaking; and it is no more than justice to say, that this is only one out of many instances of this gentleman's unremitting attention to the welfare of the Indians." Col. Claus lived for a number of years in a large stone house which stood a short distance west of "Guy Park" the residence of Sir Guy Johnson. (See preceding note under Castle Johnson.) It was burned down many years since. *N. Y. Col. Doc.; N. Y. Doc. Hist.; Gentleman's Magazine; Stone's Life of Brant, Ed.*

charge a certain number of Boats; all the over-plus boats for publick stores will come under the charge of C. Potts's Detachment and Each Corps will be answerable for the particular attention for the safety of the boats given unto their charge, and to report to the Superintendent any repairs they may want. Each corps after Expending what provisions they have recd, to draw weekly their rations, and they will sign an order for all provisions drawn for such persons on this Expedition in his majestys service who do not belong to any particular Corps. Colonel Claus will ascertain the number of Indians absolutely necessary to be fed at this post of which he will give directions to the Brigades who will give directions that the S. rations be issued dayly to the Indians, and Colonel Claus will appoint a person from the Indian Department who speaks the Missaga [Misissagua] language to attend the delivery of said provisions which by him is to be Recd in bulk delivered in Camp to Indian Department, and the D. Commissary General will deliver no provisions to any person but under the assignment of Commanding officers of Corps and detachments and the Deputy Quartermaster General. Lieut. Burnet of the King's Regt is appointed Superintendent of the King's Batteaux. For Fatigue to morrow. King's Regt, 16 P.; 34th Regt, 1 S. 17 P.; R. Y., 2 L. 1 S. 27 P.; K. R. R. N. Y. gives the Subaltern for the day to morrow.

REGTL ORDERS. For guard to morrow Ens Lipscomb, 1 S. 1 C. and 10 privates. S. Crawford of M. Gray's Comp'y to do duty. [illegible] McDonell's Comp'y.

C. Campbell is appointed Sergt in Major Gray's Company in the Room of S. Crawford. John Raley is appointed Corpl, in M. Gray's Company in the Room of Corporal Campbell. The officers commanding companys to be very particular that the mens arms and accutrements be in good order as they are to be reviewed to morrow at Guard mounting; all the Boats that want repairing in the different compys their numbers to be given in immediately to the Quartermaster. Lieut Anderson officer for the day to morrow.

—14th. MORNING ORDERS. All leaky and damaged batteaux' belonging to the different

¹ The batteaux of the army (afterwards known as "Durham boats," or barges) and the canoes of the Indians, formed so important a part of the Expedition, that a description of them, gathered from *Bouchette* and *Weld*, will be of interest. Batteaux were flat-bottomed boats, having

the currents and rapids. The sides were about four feet high, and for the convenience of the rowers, four or five benches were laid across, sometimes more, according to the length of the batteau. Four men managed them in summer, but, in the fall, another rower was always added. "It is,"



says *Weld*, "a very awkward sort of vessel, either for rowing or sailing, but it is preferred to a boat with a keel for two

a plank around them to walk on or to pole, from thirty-five to forty feet long, each extremity terminating in a point: six feet of beam in the centre; usual weight, four and one-half tons; worked by oars; a mast sail; capable of carrying 1,500 lbs. of cargo; drag ropes for turning, and long poles for "setting" them through

very obvious reasons: first, because it draws less water, at the same time that it carries a larger burden; and secondly, because it is much safer on lakes or large rivers, where storms are frequent. A proof of this came under our observation the day of our leaving Montreal [this was in 1796]. We had reached a wide part

corps to be immediately hauled on shore and turned up on their own ground, ready for repair under the directions of Lieut. Burnet, and any boats that may have been drawn up before the present directions of ground took place not within the the present line of incampment and to be Immediately Launched, and brought to the ground of their Regiment to prevent confusion. Mr. Charles Miller is appointed Batteau Master in the room of Mr. Kuysak and is to be attended [obeyed] as such.¹

of the river, and were sailing along with a favorable wind, when suddenly the horizon grew very dark, and a dreadful storm arose, accompanied with loud peals of thunder and torrents of rain. Before the sail could be taken in, the ropes which held it were snapped in pieces, and the waves began to dash over the sides of the batteaux, though the water had been quite smooth five minutes before. It was impossible now to counteract the force of the wind with oars, and the batteau was consequently driven on shore, but the bottom of it being quite flat, it was carried smoothly upon the beach without sustaining any injury, and the men leaping out drew it up on dry land, where we remained out of all danger till the storm was over. A keel-boat, however, of the same size, could not have approached nearer to the shore than thirty feet, and there it would have stuck fast in the sand, and probably have been filled with water." For a graphic description of the manner in which these batteaux were handled and propelled by the batteaux-men, and an account of the habits of this class of boatmen, see note in advance, under date of the 17th of June.

From La Chine to the North-west, canoes were and still are, employed by the fur-traders. They seldom exceed thirty feet

in length, six feet in breadth, each end, like the batteaux, terminating in a sharp point. The frame is composed of small pieces of light wood covered with birch-bark, cut into convenient slips, sewed together with threads from the twisted fibres of roots of trees that grow in the woods. These canoes are made watertight by being covered with a sort of gum that adheres firmly, and becomes perfectly hard. No iron-work of any description, not even a nail, is employed; and when complete the canoe weighs about 500 lbs. In managing the canoes, the Indian uses but his paddle and makes his way with amazing expedition. "It was on one of these Indian canoes," says Sergeant Lamb in his *Memoirs*, "that General Sir Guy Carleton, accompanied by an *aide de camp*, passed undetected through the enemy's fleet from Montreal to Quebec, to put the city in a state of defence."

¹ Mr. Miller was succeeded by Captain Martin, whose tragical fate, revealing, by the way, the treachery of St. Leger, is thus referred to in the affidavit of Moses Younglove, a part of which is quoted in a preceding note. "Capt. Martin, of the batteaux-men," says Younglove, "was delivered to the Indians at Oswego on pretence of his having kept back some

Signed, W. Ancrum, D. Ajt. General.

A return of the number of caulkers and carpenters belonging to the different corps to be given in Immediately to the D. A. G. and they will be ready to attend Mr. Burnet at one o'clock.

P. Brunswick. C. Kent. No person whatsoever to trade rum or any spirituous liquors for any thing which the Indians may have to dispose of; those people will be Informed by their officers that it is necessary to have the C. S. to pass the centries and guards of the Comp—and they will strongly recommend to them not to leave their incampment after dark lest they should be subjected to Inconveniencies from the difficulty of pronouncing or Remembering the pass-word; no Soldier or any of the Corps Canadians on any account to fire their arms unless to discharge them after bad weather and then in the presence of an Officer—No trader on this Island to sell any Rum or spirituous liquor without the assignment of Capt Potts of the King's Regt'; any

useful intelligence." "Moses Younglove," writes his grand-nephew, Moses Younglove, a prominent and influential citizen of Cleveland, Ohio, to the author, under date of Aug. 2d, 1881, "was a man of strong convictions and decided character, not easily turned from any settled purpose." As stated in a preceding note, Moses Younglove was a man of great truthfulness and of sterling integrity.

¹ The history of this regiment is an exceedingly interesting one, and is as follows :

When James, Duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II, engaged in rebellion against his uncle, James II, in 1685, corps of cavalry and infantry were quickly raised for the support of the crown, and Robert, Lord Ferrars of Chartly, whose father, Sir Robert Shirley, Bart., was one of the sufferers in the royal cause in the time of Charles I, was appointed to the command of one of these corps raised on that occasion; which, having been continued in service to the present time, now bears the distinguished title of the "8th or KING'S REGIMENT OF FOOT." It was in the battle of the Boyne; and, as

officer wanting such things will send their orders to be countersigned by him to prevent forgeries and Impositon; the guard of the camp not to turn out but once a day to the Brigadier nor are they to take notice of him unless in his Uniform. Sergt Killigrew of the 34th Regt is appointed provost Martial at 2s-6d pr day for the Expedition and to be obeyed as such; his guard to be proportioned to the number of prisoners; a Corporal and 4 private men from the line to mount at the usual time to morrow morning for this duty; all prisoners Except those styled officers

mentioned in the Introduction, at the sieges of Limerick, Dublin and Kinsale. It served with bravery from 1696-1701, in the Netherlands, Ireland and Holland; and, in 1702, on the elevation of the Princess Anne to the throne, was designated "The Queen's Regiment." It was among the first to storm the citadel at the siege of Liege in the same year (1702). In the following year, it was at the siege of Huy and Limburg; and, in 1704, took part in the great battles of Schellenberg and Blenheim. At Helixem, it forced the French lines. After the suppression of the rebellion headed by the Pretender and the Earl of Mar in 1716, the regiment was stationed a short time at Glasgow, at which time, George I showed his appreciation of its good behavior on all these occasions by conferring on it the distinguished title of "The King's Regiment of Foot." On obtaining this title, the facing of the uniform was changed from yellow to blue, and the regiment was authorized to bear the WHITE HORSE as a regimental badge with the motto *NEC ASPERA TERRENT*. In 1777, at the time of Burgoyne assuming the command of the expedition

from Canada, the protection of a portion of the Canadian frontiers was confided to it; the regiment also furnishing a detachment of one hundred men for St. Leger's command, in his campaign against Fort Stanwix. In 1809, it assisted in the capture of Martinique. Again, in the war of 1812, it greatly distinguished itself. It participated in the actions at Fort George and Sackett's Harbor, Chippawa and Niagara; and was also at the siege of Fort Erie and at the battle of Plattsburg where it captured the stand of American colors, which Gen. Sir George Prevost sent to England to be laid at the feet of his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent. The *Historical Record of the British army* (London, 1844) thus concludes a sketch of this regiment. "Distinguished by a long period of meritorious service, including heroic conduct in numerous battles and sieges which reflect lustre on the British arms, and by excellent behavior under all the circumstances of colonial and home service, the 8th or the King's Regiment possesses a high and an untarnished reputation, and ranks among the corps which deservedly possess the confidence of the crown and kingdom."

from the Rebel army to go on all fatigues daily, a man of the Guard to attend them; the Rations pr. day for all Rebel prisoners of whatever distinction to be an oz. of pork and pound of flour¹. For duty to morrow—K's Regt, 17 P.; 34th Regt, 1 C. 16 P.; R. R. Regt, 3 L. 1 S. 1 C. 32 P.

REGT ORDERS. For Guard to morrow Ens Lipscomb. 1. 1. 2. and 20 private men. Its Major Gray's orders that an officer of a Compy shall Read to the men the Gen. Orders against trafficking with the Indians with Rum², and that the officers employed in seeing the Batteaus carried over the long Sault shall give in an Exact list of the number of Boats brought up by each squad.

—15th. P. London. C. Edinburgh. The duty of the Provost Marshal³. The care of all

¹ This order affords a glimpse of how short the rations had already become even at this early stage of the campaign.

² St. Leger, however, did not in his practice carry out these excellent orders. On the contrary, we find Col. Claus complaining greatly that owing to the action of St. Leger in this particular, he could with difficulty control those Indians under his command. "On the 24th of July," Claus writes, "Brig. St. Leger mentioned my going was chiefly intended to quiet the Indians with him, who were very drunk and riotous; and Capt. Tice, who was the messenger, informed me that St. Leger ordered the Indians a quart of rum apiece, which made them all beastly drunk, and in which case, it is not in the power of man to quiet them.

Soon after, finding the Indians were unwilling to proceed, St. Leger came away from Salmon creek and arrived the next day at Oswego with the companies of the 8th and 34th regiments and about 250 Indians." *Col. Claus to Sec'y. Knox, Oct. 16, 1777.* This conduct of St. Leger, however, may be partly solved by the fact that the English, save in the notable case of Sir William Johnson, never acquired the knack of managing the Indians. The French, on the contrary, by assimilating, marrying and affiliating with them, handled the red men admirably.

³ The attention of the reader is directed to St. Leger's admirable description of what the duties of a provost marshal should be.

prisoners taken in battle, spies and deserters is intrusted to them forthwith; he will have a guard strong in proportion to their number; all disorders in the camp fall under his cognizance; he is to have the control of all settlers and traders selling Liquor, and have authority for impressing such as he finds disobedient to General Orders; he is to regulate all markets that may be formed in the Camp, and appoint proper places for them, and likewise to protect with his authority and guard all persons coming with provisions to the troops; he is from time to time to send out patrols from his guard and when necessary attend them himself to take prisoners all marauders and stragglers; all his reports are to be made to the D. Quartermaster General—only for the Information of the Commander-in chief cases relative to the economy of the Comp, and to the D. A. General all Extraordinary matters; as spies, deserters, &c. &c. In cases of Executions he is to the Martial law what the Sheriff of a County is to the Civil; he is to be provided with an Executioner when this he Requests and when a more honourable death by fire arms is granted he will give the word of command; his guard is to be near headquarters.

G. O. Commanding officers of the different Corps will direct that the mens tents are struck and the rear turned up every fine day at 10 o'clock and remain so four hours at least to air them

perfectly ; their streets must be swept every morning ; no washing, cleaning of arms or accoutrements or doing any thing in them that may render them filthy and Consequently unwholesome must be suffered.

The K. R. R. of New York will Expend that part of their ammunition which [is] fit for service in firing at marks Every morning in presence of their officers. For duty—K. R. Regt, 1 L. 1 S. 17 P. ; 34th Regt, 1 L. 2 C. 15 P. ; K. R. R. N. Y., 1 L. 1 S. 32 P. 34th Regiment to give the subaltern of the Day to morrow, 1 man to be sent [as] orderly over the adjt General.

REGT. ORDERS. For Guard to morrow Lieut. Walker, 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 16 private men—all the men of the R. Regt of N. Y. to fire two Rounds of Ball Cartridge each to morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

—16th. MORNING ORDERS. The Kings Royal Regt of N. York to send one Sergt and 12 careful men to the artillery at 8 o'clock to examin the Ammunition. Signed,

WM CROFTS, Major Brigade.

P. Bristol. C. Taunton. For duty to morrow K. Regt, 4 P. ; 34th Regt, 1 C. 6 P. ; K. R. Regt N. Y., 1 L. 1 C. 5 P.

Its Sir John's orders that the officers Commanding Companys Settle with their men Before to morrow night and pay them the Ballance of their accts to the 24th of August Inclusive.

Its Major Gray's Orders that [the officers] see that the men wash their cloathing and clean their arms to Morrow as there are but few men for duty; they will likewise Examine their Necessaries of which they will give a report in writing to Major Gray.

—17th. P. Winchester. C. York. The Brigadier has the satisfaction to inform the Corps in this expedition that Fort Ticonderoga, a large Quantity of provision & artillery & stores with their whole stock of live cattle were abandoned by the rebels to the grand army the 6th instant; that many prisoners were taken & many killed, and that at the moment the advanced corps of Indians were in hot pursuit; the troops on this expedition to hold themselves in readiness to embark on an hours notice; 40 Days provision for 500 men to be immediately sorted to be ready to be embarked on boats which the superintendents will point out'. Lieutenant Collorton will

¹ As hinted in the Introduction, this order for rations enables us forever to put at rest the long mooted question in regard to the number of men actually engaged in this expedition against Fort Stanwix. By contemporaneous writers (among them Judge Thomas Jones in his *History of New York during the Revolution*) and also by those of later date, such, for instance, as Col. Wm. L. Stone in his *Life of Brant*, Campbell in his *History of Tryon County*, Lossing, de Peyster, Roberts and others, it has invariably been stated that St. Leger's force consisted of 1,700 men, including Indians. General Riedesel, moreover (see *Riedesel's Journals*, Vol.

1st) would make it the same by his detail from the different regiments sent out; and Dr. Dwight, who visited Fort Stanwix in 1799, gives, in his *Travels*, the number from 1,500 to 1,800; while in his *History of the American Revolution*, Dr. Gordon who, after all, has always stood the test for accuracy, differs from the above authorities, St. Leger's forces, by his estimate, having been only 800. Lord George Germaine, also, in a letter to Sir Guy Carleton, dated "Whitehall, 26th March, 1777," says: "It is the King's further pleasure that you put under the command of Col. St. Leger: A detachment from the 8th regiment, 100;

11

If the same rule is to hold good as applied to both sides Americans calculated British at Kings Mountain by rations issued, always in excess of troops present to relieve them consequently if 500 rations were issued there could not have been more troops present.

prepare ammunition For two 6 pounders' & 2 Cohorns and 50 rounds ball cartridges per man for 500 men and make a demand of the number of large boats that will be sufficient For their transports; all ovens to be set at work to bake 6 Days bread For 500 men; great care must be taken that it will be well soakt to keep in that time; each corps to find what bakers they have [and report] to the Deputy Commissary general at 10 o'clock; the kings regt, the 34, Captain Watts's Detachment, and Capt Reveil's [Rouville] corps to be compleated with 50 rounds of good ammunition Immediatly. All those corps who have it not in their own stores will make a demand on the artillery and give a receipt agreeable to the forms they require; it is absolutely necessary that the officers commanding Corps should provide their men with some sort of cases to

a detachment from the 34th regiment, 100; Sir John Johnson's regiment of New-York, 133; Hanau Chasseurs, 342² total, 675; together with a sufficient number of Indians and Canadians."

We are now, however, enabled to state accurately the force employed; and, as usual, we find that Dr. Gordon is more nearly correct than any other writer. If we consider that the 500 rations, mentioned in the text, were, as is probably the case, for the white troops solely. we have 500 as the number. Now, in the letter of Col. Claus to Secretary Knox, it is expressly stated that the Indians in this expedition were composed of 150 Mississagues (a tribe of the Hurons) under Claus himself, and 300 of the Six Nations under Brant. Therefore $500 + 150 + 300$ gives the number of St. Leger's force

as 950 all told; and this is without doubt a correct statement. If, however, the 500 rations *included* the Indians, the total number of white and Indian troops would be 500, a very much smaller force than 1,700. St. Leger left a portion of his force at Oswego, and refused to take more men, though strongly urged to do so by Col. Claus (*Claus to Sec'y. Knox*). Indeed, it was undoubtedly owing to the smallness of his force, caused by his foolish belittling of the enemy's numbers and bravery, that he failed to capture Fort Stanwix.

¹ These two 6 pounders and the two cohorns (mortars) were left behind by St. Leger in his undignified and hasty retreat and fell into the hands of the Americans. *N. Y. Calendar Rev. Papers*, Vol. 11.

as be a mistake
the company under
Heldbrooke
Col: Bock VIII
100
100
133
34
367
60
427
I have gone
to the
for myself

keep their locks dry through the woods in rainy weather; the master of the Ship Colwheel and Mr. Miller, the Chief Ship Carpenter with any other carpenters or seamen they think proper to call For to assist or advise with, and to take an exact and particular Survey of the State and condition of the Sloop Charity, and to make the report to the brigadier in writing this Day, signifying therein whether their works and timber will admit of such repair as will enable her to sail the lakes again with any probability of safety. Lieutenant Barnet of the kings regt will preside on this survey.

For Duty to morrow K regt, 6 P.; and 34th, 1 C. 7 P.; the kings royal yorkers, 1 L. 1 C. 10 P. A return to be given in immediately by each corps to lieutenant Barnet of the kings regt of the number of batteaux', painters, oars, setting-

¹ The following extract from *Weld's Travels in Upper and Lower Canada in 1795-97*, a book now quite rare, will give the reader an excellent idea both of the manner in which the setting poles were used in propelling the batteaux, and of the characteristics of the batteaux-men themselves.

"It was on the 28th of August," [1796] he writes, "that we reached La Chine, the next day the 'brigade,' as it was called, of batteaux was ready, and in the afternoon we set out on our voyage. Three men are found sufficient to conduct an empty batteau of about two tons burden up the St. Lawrence, but if the batteaux be laden, more are generally allowed. They ascend the stream by means of poles, oars and sails. Where the current is very strong, they make use of the

former, keeping as close as possible to the shore, in order to avoid the current, and to have the advantage of shallow water to pole in. The men set their poles together at the same moment, and all work at the same side of the batteaux; the steersman, however, shifts his pole occasionally from side to side in order to keep the vessel in an even direction. The poles commonly used are about eight feet in length, extremely light and headed with iron. On coming to a deep bay or inlet, the men abandon the poles, take to their oars, and strike, if possible, directly across the mouth of the bay; but in many places the current proves so strong that it is absolutely impossible to stem it by means of oars, and they are obliged to pole entirely round the bay. Whenever the wind is favorable they set their sail;

poles and paddles; specifying the size of the batteaux.

—18th. *P. Onandaga. C. Fort Bull*¹. The advance Guards consisting of all the officers &

but it is only at the upper end of the river, beyond the rapids, or on the lakes or broad parts of it where the current is not swift, that the sail by itself is sufficient to impel them forward.

"The exertion it requires to counteract the force of the stream by means of poles and oars is so great, that the men are obliged to stop very frequently to take breath. The places at which they stop are regularly ascertained; some of them, where the current is very rapid, are not more than half a mile distant one from the other; others one or two, but none of them more than four miles apart. Each of these places, the boatmen, who are almost all French Canadians, denominate '*une pipe*,' because they are allowed to stop at it and fill their pipes. A French Canadian is scarcely ever without a pipe in his mouth, whether working at the oar or plow; whether on foot, or on horseback; indeed, so much addicted are the people to smoking, that by the burning of tobacco in their pipes, they commonly ascertain the distance from one place to another. Such a place, they say, is three pipes off, that is, it is so far off that you may smoke three pipes full of tobacco whilst you go thither. A pipe as in the most general acceptance of the word, seemed to be about three-quarters of an English mile.

"The men, who are engaged in conducting batteaux in Canada, are, as I have before observed, a very hardy race. When the weather is fair, they sleep on the grass at night, without any other covering than a short blanket, scarcely reaching down to their knees; during wet weather a sail or blanket to the weather side spread on poles stuck into the ground in an inclined direction, is all the shelter

they deem necessary. On setting out, each man is furnished with a certain allowance of salted pork, biscuit, pease and brandy; the pease and biscuit they boil with some of the pork into porridge, and a large vessel full of it is generally kept at the head of the batteaux, for the use of the crew when they stop in the course of the day. This porridge, or else cold fat salted pork, with cucumbers, constitutes the principal part of their food. The cucumber is a fruit that the lower classes of French Canadians are extremely fond of; they use it however in a very indifferent state, as they never pull it until it has attained a large size, and is become yellow and seedy. Cucumbers thus mellow, chopped into small pieces without being peeled, and afterwards mixed with sour cream, is one of their favorite dishes."

From the above extract, it may be seen that a person reading at the time it was written, the text a few sentences in advance under date of the 18th, where the expression "to be ready to *push* in the morning" is used, would not have needed the explanatory word "ahead" which we have inserted in brackets. At that time, the phrase "to be ready to push at a moment's warning" was used, and understood in reference to the *poling* operation, as if, how, one should say, "to be ready to sail in the morning," or "to be ready to row in the morning," the verb "to push" being at that time used in a strictly conventional or technical sense, and *not* as we at the present day employ the term "to push forward," i. e., "to start."

¹ Fort Bull, situated about half-way on the Oneida portage, played a prominent part in the early border warfare of New York. It had always given the French

80 rank & file of the Kings & 34th Regts, the Tribe of Misisagey Indians, with what is on the Island of the Six Nations, & the officers and rangers will move to morrow Morning at 4 o'clock.

The Kings & 34th Regts will Receive 10 Boats Each for their men & twenty days provision. The officers will be allowed a proper portion of Boats for their Baggage on their way to Oswego, those boats will be man'd by the Supernumeraries of each corps. Capt. Ruvielle's corps of Canadians will remove the same time & carry 20 Days provisions for 500 men. The Corps will be assisted by a proper number of men [from] the Ks and 34th to mount the Rapids from Oswego to Fort Stanwix¹. The provision boats as

trouble; and on the 17th of March, 1756, De Levy with three hundred men, suddenly appeared before it and summoned it to surrender. This summons, Sir Wm. Johnson having meanwhile supplied the commander with abundance of ammunition, was answered by a shower of bullets. This so exasperated De Levy that he forthwith ordered a charge, and breaking down the gate, put all but thirty of the garrison to the sword. The French officer then burned the fort, and having destroyed forty thousand pounds of powder, returned with his prisoners into Canada with the loss of only three men. *Stone's Sir Wm. Johnson*, Vol. II, p. 1.

¹ This fort has quite a history. In 1758, General John Stanwix, who came to America in 1756, as colonel of the 1st Battalion of the 60th Royal Americans, was sent by General Abercrombie after his defeat at Ticonderoga to build a fort

on the ruins of old Fort Williams (named after Capt. William Williams of Sir William Pepperell's regiment, who was in command of the fort for a short time) near the rise of the Mohawk river on the Oneida Carrying Place at the head of boat navigation, the site of the present city of Rome, N. Y. "It was a strong square fortification, having bomb-proof bastions, a glacis, covert way, and a well picketed ditch around the ramparts." Its position was important in a military point of view, for it commanded the portage between the Mohawk and Wood creek, and was a key to communication between the Mohawk valley and Lake Champlain. The works cost the British and Colonial government two hundred and sixty-six thousand four hundred dollars, yet when the Revolution broke out the fort and its outposts were in ruins. Accordingly, in 1776, it was repaired by Colonel Dayton, who, to please his patron, Gen. Philip

well as those of the officers baggage are to be Loaded this Evening ready to push [ahead] at a moment's warning in the morning. The advance Corps to carry 6 Days provision in bread & pork to shut out any possibility of want of provision from Delays or Disappointments of the Ks ves-

Schuyler, changed its name to Fort Schuyler. In a manuscript letter, now in my possession and before me as I write, under date of "German Flats, Aug. 8th, 1776," General Schuyler writes to Col. Dayton as follows: " * * * I thank you for the honor you have done me in calling the fort by my name. As I cannot, consistent with delicacy, announce this to Congress, would it not be right for you to do it, and to General Washington? "

Although known by the Americans during the war as Fort Schuyler, yet the name did not "take;" and it has always been known in history by its original one, "Fort Stanwix." Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix) must not be confounded with the one built on the present site of Utica, N. Y., which latter has been known as "Old Fort Schuyler" to distinguish it from Fort Schuyler of Fort Stanwix fame. Fort Stanwix was destroyed by fire and a freshet in 1781, and was never rebuilt. At the time of St. Leger's siege, the fort was garrisoned by the 3d New York Continental regiment, a company of artillery, and a small body of infantry, consisting in all of six hundred men (de Lancey says 700) and commanded by that staunch patriot, Colonel Peter Gansevoort.

We cannot, however, dismiss Fort Stanwix without noticing one incident in particular, which, if for no other reason, must always make this fort memorable in our Revolutionary annals. We allude to the fact that it was on her ramparts during St. Leger's siege, that the stars and stripes were unfurled for the *first time*! In writing of this siege and of the circumstances of the flag, Colonel Stone, in

his *Life of Brant*, says: "A besieging army was before the fort, and its garrison was without a flag! But as necessity is the mother of invention, they were not long thus destitute. Stripes of white were cut from ammunition shirts, blue from a camlet cloak captured from the enemy; while the red was supplied from the petticoat of a soldier's wife; and thus furnished, commenced the celebrated siege of Fort Schuyler" [Stanwix]. In the late Oriskany centennial, Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, speaking of this flag in his address of welcome, at its close eloquently said: "It is a just source of patriotic pride to those who live in this valley [i. e., the Mohawk valley] that the flag of our country (with the stars and stripes) was first displayed in the face of our enemies on the banks of the Mohawk. Here it was baptized in the blood of battle. Here it first waved in triumph over a retreating foe. When the heroic defenders of Fort Stanwix learned in that remote fortress the emblem adopted by the Continental Congress for the standards to be borne by its armies, they hastened to make one in accordance with the mandate, and to hang it out from the walls of their fortress. It was rudely made of such materials cut from the clothing of the soldiers as were fitted to show its colors and its designs. But no other standard however skillfully wrought upon silken folds could equal in interest the first flag of our country worked out by the unskillful hands of brave men amid the strife of war and under the fire of beleaguering foes. It was to rescue it from its perils that the

sels; the officer command'g in chief finds himself under the painfull necessity of putting a short stop to the currency of Trade by ordering that the crews of the boats that come to unload on the Island may go one trip with provision to Oswego for which they will be paid. Every Brigade of provision boats, which arrived before the return of the vessals from Niagara, Capt Potts will push forward to Oswego with all Expedition.

REGTL ORDERS. For Guard to morrow Ensign Wall, 1 S. 1 C. 1 D. 15 P. Each officer Commanding Companys is to pay 3 Dollars, Each subaltern 1 Dollar to the Quartermaster in order to pay the men that carry'd the batteaux over the Long Sault, & the officers of the Colonels Company to pay Three Dollars extraordinary [for] the batteau that was lost at Point Abaw¹ in place

men of this valley left their homes and marched through the deep forest to this spot.

"It was to uphold the cause of which it was the emblem that they battled here. Time has destroyed that standard, but I hold in my hand another banner hardly less sacred in its associations with our history. It is the flag of our State which was borne by the regiment commanded by Colonel Gansevoort, not only here at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, but also when it ended by the surrender of the British army at Yorktown. The brave soldier who carried it valued it beyond all earthly possessions. He left it as a precious heirloom to his family. They have kept it with such faithful care that now after a century has rolled away its folds can be displayed in this valley to another generation who will look upon it with a devotion equal to that felt by those who followed

it on the battle fields of the Revolution. When it is now unfurled let it receive the military honors accorded to it a hundred years ago; and let us reverently uncover our heads in memory of the dead who watched and guarded it through the perils of ancient war."

"John F. Seymour then displayed the flag upon which the vast audience gave three rousing cheers and lifted their hats.

"All the military presented arms and the band played the 'Star Spangled Banner.'"

This flag was the standard of the Third New York regiment commanded by Col. Peter Gansevoort, who at the disbandment of the army retained it in his own possession and handed it down to his son, the late Peter Gansevoort, from whom it descended to his daughter Mrs. Abraham Lansing, of Albany, in whose hands it is now reverently preserved.

¹ Point au Baudet, situated in Lake St.

of Five paid to the Indians for finding the 5th Batteau, and for the future whatever Companys shall lose Batteaux or provisions by negligence shall pay the whole value & be liable to censure besides; as men seem to be careless about their arms & Accoutrements it is the Commanding officers orders that at Roll Call evening & morning the men appear with their arms, and whoever loses any of them shall be obliged to pay for the same.

—19th. *P. Hesse Hanau. C. Cassel.* The troop [i. e. Bugle-call] will assemble the advanced corps, & upon the beating the second troop, they will embark. Each corps will be allowed 1 boat to carry such things as will be immediately wanted, which will move with the Artillery and provisions destined for Fort Stanwix. The remainder will stay at Oswego¹ till a general clearance of that post. The whole Brigade of Canadians that brought up the Hessians to be employed in carrying provisions to Oswego after giving Eight hands to strengthen Capt Rouvilles Company. The Artillery under the conduct of Lt

Francis in the St. Lawrence, and the place where the boundary line begins that separates Upper from Lower Canada. It was, too, just the spot where a batteau might very easily be lost, since when the wind comes from the south-west, the immense body of water in the lake is impelled directly towards this point, and a surf breaks in upon the beach, as tremendous as is seen on the sea shore. When Weld visited the place in 1796, "there was," he says, "one solitary house

here which proved to be a tavern, and afforded us a well-drest supper of venison, and decent accommodation for the night." Weld had been obliged, on account of the surf and the strong south-west wind then prevailing, to tarry over at the Point until the next morning. To what circumstance Point au Baudet (Point of the Donkey) owes its name, is not stated.

¹ For the following admirable sketch of Oswego, I am indebted to Mr. B. B.

Collerton to carry 20 days Provision for their own Detachment. Three of the Rebel Prisoners now in the Provo Guard who have taken the oaths of allegiance to the King are to be employed as Batteau men to Lt. Glennie's Detachment to which will be added 10 Men of the Royal Yorkers which takes two boats from their proper line of transports.

Burt, of that city, who, though heavily burdened with professional duties, kindly found time to prepare it. Mr. Burt is well known, together with Mr. O. H. Marshall, and Mr. Wm. C. Bryant, of Buffalo, N. Y., as one who has made the early history of Lake Ontario a profound study; and this sketch from his pen, will, I believe, be highly appreciated by all historical students. Mr. Burt writes:

"The Onondaga Indians have a tradition that *Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha*, the deity that presides over fisheries and hunting grounds came down from above in his white canoe, and selected a couple of warriors from among the Onondagas, who met him at Oswego. They together passed up the Oswego river and removed all obstructions to navigation so that canoes could pass in safety.

"The first European that discovered Lake Ontario was Champlain, in 1615. In the month of October of that year he left Canada to go to a fortified village of the Iroquois, in the Onondaga county. He crossed the outlet of Lake Ontario with an armed party of ten Frenchmen and some Indian allies; and after passing many islands followed the eastern shore of the lake to a point where they landed. After leaving their canoes, they proceeded about four leagues over a sandy tract, and came to a very beautiful country. This was the town of Sandy creek and Richland in this county. Leaving the shores of the lake they went southward and crossed the outlet of Oneida lake.

"In October, 1653, Father Joseph Poncet, a Jesuit missionary, on a return from a visit to the Mohawk country went through Oswego on his way down the St. Lawrence river.

"In July, or early in August, 1654, the Jesuit Father, Simon Le Moyne, visited Oswego on his way to Onondaga, and on the 16th of August of that year discovered the salt springs at Salina.

"On the 29th day of October, 1655, Father Chanmonot and the Jesuit Dablon arrived at Ontiahahtaque (Oswego), and encamped there for a day or two, on their way to Onondaga. They describe it as a large river discharging into Lake Ontario. Dablon gave a description of the place.

"In 1656, the expedition that founded the colony Genentaha, on Onondaga lake, was at Oswego. The historian of the party said: 'On the 7th July we arrived, about ten o'clock in the evening at the mouth of the river [Oswego] which flows from the Lake Genentaha [Onondaga], on the bank of which we proceeded to erect a dwelling for the night. The next day we found the currents of water so rapid that it required all our force to surmount them.'

"On a French map made by Franquelin, in 1679, Oswego is called Onontaguero. In June or July, 1679, Father Hennepin and associates came to Oswego in a brigantine, and erected a bark cabin half a league in the woods for divine service and to avoid the intrusion of the savages, who came to trade for powder, etc., and par-

— 19th. AFTER ORDERS. The several corps to proceed in 2 lines dressing. The leading boats, the officer commanding in chief & the staff to Lead ; the lines to be followed by the Artillery, Kings Regt, Capt Ruvill's Company, & 2 Merchts boats & 34th Regt.

ticularly *brandy*. M. De Chesnau wrote a letter to Count Frontenac, dated July 28, 1682, and called Oswego 'Techo-naguen'; and on July 28, 1696, Count Frontenac arrived at Oswego on his expedition against the Onondagas.

"The English regarded Oswego as a place of importance, and in 1722 established a trading house there, and in 1727, under colonial Governor Burnet, it was strengthened and fortified and named 'Fort Oswego'; and on some maps it was called 'Fort Pepperell,' and was the first fort constructed there.

"John Bartram on a trip from Philadelphia to Canada arrived in Oswego on the 25th day of July, 1743, and described the place as follows: 'On the point formed by the entrance of the river [into Lake Ontario] stands a fort or trading castle; it is a strong stone house encompassed with a stone wall near twenty feet high, and 120 paces round, built of large square stones curious for their softness. I cut my name in it with my knife. The town consists of about seventy log houses, of which one-half are in a row near the river, the other half opposite them. On the other side of a fair were two streets, divided by a row of posts in the midst where each Indian has his house to lay his goods, and where any of the traders may traffic with him.'

"In 1755 Gen. Shirley came to Oswego with the intention of attacking Fort Niagara, then in the possession of the French, but there being a delay in getting supplies and a difficulty in obtaining transports, the expedition was abandoned for that year. Lieut. Col. Mercer was left with about

700 men and during that fall and ensuing winter and spring constructed two new forts: 'Fort Ontario' on the east and 'Oswego new fort' or 'Fort George' on the west side of the river.

"All of these forts were captured by Montcalm, August 14, 1756 and destroyed, and Oswego abandoned by the French. Soon thereafter the English again occupied the place and rebuilt Fort Ontario on nearly the site of the fort which still bears that name, and was the only one rebuilt.

"The first vessel constructed by the English on Lake Ontario, was at Oswego in 1755. At that time the French called Oswego 'Chouaguen.'

"Gen. Bradstreet accompanied by 3,000 men remained in Oswego for a short time, in August, 1758, on his way to capture Fort Frontenac.

"On the 27th day of June, 1759, Gen. Prideaux and Sir William Johnson with an army, arrived at Oswego, on the way to capture Fort Niagara; were engaged in procuring provisions on the 28th, 29th and 30th, and in making preparations for the march; left Oswego, July 1st; arrived before Niagara on the 8th, and August 8th invested and took the fort; after which the army in two vessels and accompanied by Sir William Johnson (Prideaux having, meanwhile, been killed at Niagara), returned to Oswego on Tuesday the 7th of August. Sir William remained here several days engaged in rebuilding Fort Ontario in a pentagon form, and passing his leisure moments in shooting and fishing. In your own *Life of Sir William Johnson*, you give in the appendix to Vol. II, the journal of the

Signals to be observ'd by the Detach'mt; the Ensign hoisted a mid ships and one musket a Signal for all boats to put off. The Ensign hoisted in the bow and one musket a signal for all boats to put ashore. A Signal to be made by any boat in Distress, three successive muskets; a signal for [illegible] any thing white in the bow¹.

*charter
to carry all
sail the ma
can bear"
all present*

Baronet kept by him during his stay at this time at Oswego, which is full of interest. Mrs. Grant, also, in her *Memoirs of an American Lady*, speaks very pleasantly of the winter of 1759-60, which she spent at Fort Ontario.

"July or August, 1760, General (afterwards Lord) Amherst left Oswego, with 10,000 men for Canada, to destroy the French dominion there; and on the 9th of July of the same year, Col. Woodhull, with a collection of troops from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut and New Jersey and the 44th Highlanders, arrived at Oswego and encamped near Fort Ontario on the 16th of July. His journal closes with the army at Oswego, July 20th.

"On Tuesday, the 21st of July, 1761 (Sunday), Sir William Johnson arrived on his way to Detroit, at Oswego, and on the 21st held a conference with the Onondaga natives, at which Maj. Duncan, Capt. Gray and several officers of the 55th and Gen. Gage's regiments, Lieut. Guy Johnson acting as secretary, with interpreters and upwards of forty sachems and warriors were present. Sir William opened the meeting by welcoming them to Oswego. For the particulars of this conference see your *Life of Sir William Johnson*, Vol. II, p. 435-438.

"July 23 to 31, 1766, there was an Indian council at Oswego, at which Pontiac and other chiefs and Sir William Johnson were present.

"July 27th and 28th, 1777, the expedition under Gen. St. Leger left Oswego

and in August fought at the battle of Oriskany.

"Oswego although not a battle ground during the Revolution, was garrisoned by a strong British force, and was a place of general rendezvous for the English and their allies, Brant, Johnson and others. The place continued in the possession of the English until it was surrendered to the United States, under Jay's treaty, July 15, 1796, and on that day the first American flag was displayed at the fort. Soon thereafter settlers arrived; the first, Neil McMullen, a merchant from Kingston, who had furnished supplies to the fort prior to its surrender. He brought a frame and put up a house, which is supposed to have been the first frame house built.

"Oswego was captured by the English May 6, 1814.

The name Oswego is derived from 'Swa-geh' of the Onondaga dialect, signifying 'Flowing out' or the 'discharging place' of the numerous lakes of Central New York.

"At the present time, Oswego is a thriving city of about 23,000 inhabitants, possessing excellent advantages for commerce on the lake and canal, also railroad facilities; has a fine water power, large manufactories; beautifully situated, healthy and in other respects a desirable place for business as well as residence."

¹ Not being able fully to make out this word in the MS., I have said, in the text, "illegible." Still, it looks to me like

All signals to be Repeat'd by commanding officers of corps.

The Detachment of Royal Artillery under the command of Lieut. Glennie, the R. R. N. Yorkers, the Companies of Chasseurs¹ & officers & Rangers² of the Indian Department & Canadians Destined for the transport of provisions are to hold themselves in Readiness to embark to morrow Morning at 4 o'clock, for which purpose the officers commandn'g the different Corps are to see that their Boats are loaded this evening; all the ovens to be Employ'd this evening in Bakeing for the Hessians. Three Canadians out of each of the 7 boats to be Employ'd as Steersmen to the Royal Yorkers & Hessians, for which in equal Number agreeable to the proportion [of] each Corps, Receipts must be given for the Provision boats. The whole to proceed in the Following order. First, The Command'g officer with such of the staff & Indian Department as are on the Ground.

"the charity," i. e., the sloop *Charity*. Hence (as we know that this sloop with some guns accompanied the boats for protection) it probably meant that when a great danger arose, the "*Charity*" would be signaled to advance, as quickly as possible, and aid the convoy.

¹ Col. Claus, however, in his letter to Secretary Knox, above referred to, speaks of only *one* company of Chasseurs, and that arrived a day or two before the 19th of July.

² "The origin of Rangers, since the late Sir Wm. Johnson's time, was to intermix them with the Indians, when on service, and be commanded by the Indian officers. Formerly none but those acquainted with the Indians and their language were admitted, and received half a crown pay; now that distinction, though essentially necessary, is no more made, which makes his commission become an additional useless expense, though very beneficial to him." *Col. Claus to Secretary Knox, 16th Oct., 1777.*

OSWEGO FALLS¹

—1777 JULY 31st. P. York. The Detachment of the Royal artillery under the command of Lieut. Glenne, the R. R. of N. Y. of Capt. Buvills [Rouville]² company of Canadians to take in their loading immediat'ly; each captains boat in the royal Yorkers to carry 4 barrels, 10 lieutenant boats 5 each, lieutenant Anderson J. Wilkerson to carry 4 Barrels each, the privates' boats to carry 6 each, and to hold themselves in readiness

¹ Oswego Falls are about twelve miles south-east from Oswego on the Oswego river. In early times, the river was called "Onondaga," and the falls after the name of the river. The fall proper is about twelve feet with rapids for about a mile below, which rendered it necessary to have a carrying place on the east side of the river of about a mile, the termini being called the upper and lower landings. There is a fall of about seventy feet from the head of Oswego Falls to Oswego, and it took five days to go from Oswego to Fort Bull (at the carrying place at Fort Stanwix) and only three and a-half days to come from Fort Bull to Oswego. This arose from having to contend with the currents in the river. In 1759, a fort was constructed near the eastern end of the falls; thus, between Oswego and Fort Stanwix, there were three forts, viz.: the fort at Oswego Falls, Fort Brewerton at the outlet of Oneida Lake, and Fort Bull at the carrying place between the Mohawk river and Wood creek. About 1792, settlements were made at the upper and lower landings of the carrying place and also at the westerly end of the falls. It has always been a good place for catching eels in weirs. B. B. Burt.

The reader should be informed that

the hiatus which here occurs in the Orderly Book between the 19th and the 31st of July is due to the fact that at that time the troops of St. Leger and Sir John Johnson were passing from Buck's (Carleton) Island to Oswego Falls in boats.

² Captain Rouville, together with Lieutenants Lundy and Glenie mentioned previously in the text, did efficient service in the events which subsequently took place. Col. St. Leger, in his "Account of Occurrences at Fort Stanwix," published in the Appendix to Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition*, writes of these officers as follows: "The 4th and 5th of August were employed in making arrangements for opening Wood creek (which the enemy, with the indefatigable labor of one hundred and fifty men, for fourteen days, had most effectually choked up) and the making a temporary road from Pine Ridges upon Fish creek, sixteen miles from the fort, for a present supply of provision and the transport of our artillery. The first was effected by the diligence and zeal of Capt. Bouville [Rouville] * * while Lieutenant Lundy, acting as assistant quartermaster, had rendered the road in the worst of weather, sufficiently practicable to pass the whole artillery and stores, with seven

to embark at 2 o'clock this afternoon to proceed in the Following order.¹

Royal artillery. Six Companys of the Kings R. R. of N. Y. Capt Rouvill's Company of Canadians, Lieut Col's Company. The officers commanding companys not to allow their boats to fall back or put ashore without orders or a signal for that purpose².

days provision, in two days. * * * It was found that our cannon had not the least effect upon the sod-work of the Fort [Stanwix], and that our royals [cuhorns] had only the power of teasing, as a six-inch plank was a sufficient security for their powder magazine, as we learned from deserters. At this time, Lieutenant Glenie of the artillery, whom I appointed to act as assistant engineer, proposed a conversion of the royals (if I may use the expression) into howitzers. The ingenuity and feasibility of this measure striking me very strongly, the business was set about immediately and soon executed, when it was found that nothing prevented their operating with the desired effect but the distance, their chambers

being too small to hold a sufficiency of powder."

¹ There is a rapid in Oswego and within one mile of the lake, and several others between that city and Oswego Falls; while, as mentioned in the last note but one, there was a carrying place around the falls of at least a mile. It will thus readily be seen how three days could have been spent by St. Leger in getting around the falls and ready for a start for Fort Stanwix on the 31st of July, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

² On the inside of the cover of the Orderly Book is the following entry: "Nicholas Hillyer Sergt enters the Col's Company 10th of April, 1777, then canted at Lachine."

END OF THE ORDERLY BOOK.

In order that this interesting document may be brought down to the latest date attainable, I append here, in the text, as a fitting ending, the last official paper of this expedition on the English side, as far as known. It was, as will be seen, written by St. Leger but a few hours previous to his appearance before the walls of Fort Stanwix; his advance, meanwhile, having arrived under the walls of that fort on the evening of the day on which the letter was written. The letter is addressed to Lieutenant Bird of the 8th Regiment, who had, on the 31st of July, been sent by St. Leger in advance with some sixty of his men and a few Indians.

GENERAL ST. LEGER TO LIEUTENANT BIRD.

"Nine Mile Point, August 2d, 1777.

SIR: I this instant received your letter, containing the account of your operations since you were detached, which I with great pleasure tell you have been sensible and spirited; your resolution of investing Fort Stanwix is perfectly right; and to enable you to do it with greater effect, I have detached Joseph [Thayendanegea] and his corps of Indians to re-inforce you. You will observe that I will have nothing but an investiture made;

and in case the enemy, observing the discretion and judgment with which it is made, should offer to capitulate, you are to tell them that you are sure I am well disposed to listen to them; this is not to take any honor out of a young soldier's hands, but by the presence of the troops to prevent the barbarity and carnage which will ever obtain where Indians make so superior a part of a detachment; I shall move from hence at eleven o'clock, and be early in the afternoon at the entrance of the creek [Wood creek].

I am, Sir, your most obt. and humble Ser't
BARRY ST. LEGER.

*Lieut. Bird, 8th Reg't."*¹

¹ Before closing this subject, it may be well, especially as *Willet's Narrative*, as stated in the Introduction, has become very rare and difficult to procure, to give the result of the expedition of St. Leger against Fort Stanwix in Col. Willett's own words. "Shortly after this [i. e., the capture of Capt. Butler,] the news of the approach of General Arnold, to relieve the fort, having reached the enemy, the Indians being already extremely disaffected, in consequence of the ill success of the siege, and Colonel St. Leger, finding that the mulish obstinacy, as he termed it in a letter written to General Burgoyne, of the garrison, could not readily be overcome, on the 22d of August, the siege was suddenly abandoned after it had been carried on twenty days. Throughout the whole of the siege, Colonel St. Leger, certainly, made every effort in his power to render it successful. Having sent after Colonel Willett's departure, to Colonel Gansevoort a written summons to surrender, which he found as unavailing as his message to Major Ancrum, he commenced approaching by sap, and had

formed two parallels, the second of which brought him near the edge of the glaciis, but the fire of the musketry from the covert way, rendered his further progress very difficult; besides, his ordinance was not sufficiently heavy to make any impression from the battery which he had erected. The only way in which he could annoy the garrison, was with his shells, and this was so trifling, as to afford him but a poor prospect of success. It appears, that he made large calculations upon intimidating the garrison with threats; and, perhaps, his expectations were the more sanguine, as Ticonderoga had been but a little time before abandoned, upon the approach of Gen. Burgoyne.

The unexpected and hasty retreat of Col. St. Leger, and his host of Indians, accompanied by Sir John Johnson, whose influence among the settlers along the Mohawk river, it was supposed, would procure considerable reinforcements, defeated all the calculations that had been made in the event of the success of St. Leger, which was hardly

doubted. Great indeed was the disappointment and mortification, when, instead of Colonel St. Leger taking the fort, and, by this means obtaining possession of the Mohawk country, as well as effecting a juncture with General Burgoyne, he was obliged to retreat, wholly baffled in all his designs." Indeed, so great was the panic of the besiegers and such the precipitancy of their flight, that St. Leger left his bombardier asleep in the bomb-battery. They also left their tents standing, their provisions, artillery ammunition, their entire camp-equipage and large quantities of other articles enhancing the value of the booty. In very truth, the king's troops had themselves become that very "Rabble" by which term St. Leger in his orders, had so pompously designated the Americans!

Upon the raising of the siege of Fort Schuyler, or Fort Stanwix, as the public always preferred calling it, St. Leger hastened with his scattered forces back to Oswego, and thence to Montreal. From that post he proceeded to Lake Champlain, passing up the same to Ticonderoga for the purpose of joining the army of Burgoyne. While neither himself nor Sir John carried this intention out, some of their officers did, as has been seen in a preceding note. It is, however, very certain that St. Leger fully intended to join Burgoyne. Thus Gen. Burgoyne, in a secret and confidential letter to Gen. Riedesel under date of Sept. 10, 1777, writes as follows: " * * I have, my dear general, to intrust a little matter to your care during your stay at Fort Edward. I desire to have two batteaux, with their oars, buried as quietly as possible. It would also, be well to shovel earth upon them; and to give them still more the appearance of graves, a cross might be placed upon each hillock. All this must be done in the night, and only by trustworthy soldiers. The teamsters cannot be relied on. The use for which these batteaux are intended, is to help Lieut. Col. St. Leger in crossing the river, in case of circumstances forcing him to

march without his ships. This officer has been forced by the bad conduct of the Indians, to retreat on the road to Oswego. He has however, accomplished this without loss, and is now on his march to the army. I have sent him orders as to the necessary measures of precaution he is to take upon arriving on the island at the lower end of Lake George. If he finds that the enemy are not in the vicinity of the road leading to the army, and he can keep the march of twenty-four men a secret, he is to cross the river near Fort Edward, at the same time notifying me in advance of his movement, that I may be able to facilitate it from my side. I have told him where he will find the batteaux, viz. *inside of Fort Edward*. I had given orders to Brigadier General Powell to have your reserve cross at the same time with Colonel St. Leger, and to leave those only behind that belong to the regiment of Prince Frederick."

The sequel to this burying of the batteaux is thus told by Dr. Gordon. In writing in regard to the cutting off of Burgoyne by Gen. Stark's capture of Fort Edward, he says: "The Americans who had been ordered there [Fort Edward] made a discovery, which they greatly improved. Below the fort, close in with the river, they found the appearance of a grave, with an inscription on a board: '*Here lies the body of Lieutenant ———*.'" They were at a loss what it should mean. On searching, they discovered three batteaux [Riedesel with his usual prudence, had, it seemed, buried *three* instead of two] instead of a body. These the enemy had concealed. Having none of their own, they, by the help of them sent scouting parties across the river [the Hudson] which by falling into a track a mile and a-half beyond, discouraged the enemy's parties from attempting an escape that way." Thus, Burgoyne's and Riedesel's efforts only redounded to the aid of their enemies! It was undoubtedly to this action of Riedesel in burying the batteaux that Burgoyne refers to in his

"*State of the Expedition*," when, in speaking of the reason why, after the action of the 19th of Sept., at Freeman's farm, he did not immediately retreat, he says: "The time also entitled me to expect Lieut. Col. St. Leger's corps would be arrived at Ticonderoga; and *secret* means had been long concerted to enable him to make an effort to join me with probability of success."

The miscarriage of St. Leger's expedition, as it has been well epitomised by S. N. Dexter North, was due to the miscalculation of the home government which planned it. The force under his command was a picked one, but altogether too small. See *Letter from Col. Claus to Sec'y Knox, N. Y. Col. Doc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 719. "There were three good reasons," continues Mr. North, "to excuse and explain this blunder. First, St. Leger's advance was through an unprotected country and against undisciplined forces; second, it was expected, upon the

positive assertion of Sir John Johnson, that at every step of his progress his army would be swelled by a rising tide of Mohawk valley loyalists, until it should reach Albany an irresistible force, sweeping all before it and cutting off the last retreat of the army which held the sources of the Hudson against Burgoyne; third, the alliance of the warlike tribes of the Six Nations was relied upon as insuring a sufficient augmentation of forces and a terribly effective coöperation." Each of these three expectations failed in turn, and the brilliant plan miserably miscarried. In short, as Sir Henry Clinton pithily remarks of the expedition of St. Leger: "If Burgoyne meant to have established himself in Albany, and was sure he could be subsisted there, perhaps he had better have made this [*i. e.*, St. Leger's Expedition] his principal attack; this failed from inadequacy of numbers and want of common calibre."¹

¹ Sir Henry Clinton's MS. notes to Stedman's "*History of the American War*," in the Library of the late John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I.

END.



APPENDIX.

NO. I.

REV. MARINUS WILLETT.

THE REV. MARINUS WILLETT was born in October, 1826, and died on the 23d of February, 1881. His father was a physician in New York city. In his younger days, Mr. Willett shipped before the mast for a trip to China, and became a great favorite with all on board. Returning to New York, he was made fourth officer of the ill-fated steamship *Arctic*, commanded by Capt. Luce, and only left her as she started on her last voyage in which she was lost. Shortly after, he received the appointment of third officer in the packet-ship *Ashburton*; but his mother dying about this time, he gave up the sea as a vocation, choosing in its place the profession of the ministry. He studied first at Columbia College; then at the University of Pennsylvania; and finally graduated at Williams. He prepared for the ministry at the Union Theological Seminary in New York city; and after his ordination became pastor in succession of several Presbyterian churches, among them the one at Black Rock, Conn., and another at Washington Heights, N. Y. About ten years before his death, he was appointed chaplain of Ward's, Hart's and Randall's Islands, by Commissioner Bowen. He was devoted to his work and found particular happiness in administering spirit-

ual comfort to poor patients. He left, as a rich heritage to his children, an official record not often equalled for success and devotion to the suffering. Indeed, it was this very self-sacrificing spirit, which was the primary cause of his death. Notwithstanding he had been in ill health for some nine months previous to his decease, and had been urged not to attempt to perform his labors as chaplain, at least until the weather became milder and more settled, he persisted, in the face of wind and storm, in crossing the East River in an open boat nearly every day in the week, to visit the Islands, and always on Sundays to hold service. Indeed, the officials and physicians of the different institutions on the three Islands, speak of Mr. Willett in terms of unqualified praise, as a Christian minister who seemed to live only to better his fellow-men. Mr. Willett was, for many years, a member, and later, the secretary, of the society of the Cincinnati, of which his grandfather (after whom he was named) was one of the original members. He was also a member of the St. Nicholas society. He left a widow, a daughter, and two sons, one of whom, at the time of his father's death, was a purser of a ship then cruising in the Indian Ocean. He was buried on the 26th of February, from the South Dutch church, corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-First street, New York, Dr. Howard Crosby conducting the services which were unusually impressive.

NO. II.

GEN. MARINUS WILLETT.

MARINUS WILLETT, the author of *Willett's Narrative*, was born at Jamaica, Long Island, July 31st, (O. S.), 1740. He was the youngest of six sons of Edward Willett, a Queen's county farmer, and of excellent family—a younger branch, indeed, of that of Judge Thomas Jones, so well known as the author of the *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, recently edited by Edward F. de Lancey, and published under the auspices of the N. Y. His. Soc. Owing to his family becoming much reduced in its circumstances, young Willett came to New York city and served for a time as a constable, which, in those days, was a position fully as dignified as that of sheriff is now. He early became imbued with a military spirit, and joined the army under Abercrombie as a lieutenant in Col. de Lancey's regiment in 1758. He was in the disastrous battle at Ticonderoga, and accompanied Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac. Exposure in the wilderness injured his health, and he was laid up by sickness at Fort Stanwix until the end of the campaign. Willett espoused the cause of the colonies when the troubles with the mother country first began. When the British troops in the New York garrison were ordered to Boston after the fight at Lexington, they attempted, in addition to their own, to carry off a large quantity of spare arms. Willett, learning of this, resolved to prevent it; and, though opposed by the mayor and other Tories, he captured the baggage-wagons containing them and brought them back to the city. These arms were afterward used by the first regiment raised by the state of New York. For this success-

ful attempt to baffle the British, he drew down on him the bitter hatred of all who were opposed to colonial independence ; and hence it is a matter of no surprise when, in speaking of him in his Tory *History of New York*, Judge Jones says " he became a principal leader in all mobs in New York prior to the actual commencement of the rebellion." He was appointed second captain of a company in Col. Mc Dougall's regiment and accompanied Montgomery in his Northern expedition against Quebec. He was placed in command of St. John's, and held that post until January, 1776. In the same year, he was appointed lieutenant colonel; and, at the opening of the campaign of 1777, was placed in command of Fort Constitution on the Hudson. In May of this year, he was ordered to Fort Stanwix, where he performed signal service, as mentioned in the Introduction ; and for which he was voted a sword by congress. This vote of congress, unlike the playful amusement in which that body has, until lately, seemed inclined to indulge, viz : of voting monuments to Herkimer, Steuben, Pulaski, and others, and allowing its action to end in a vote merely, was, we are glad to state, carried out ; and the sword was sent direct to Col. Willett by John Hancock. This sword, which is owned by the widow of the late Rev. Mr. Willett, has for several months past been in the careful keeping of a jeweller on William street near the New York Custom House. After the retreat of St. Leger and Johnson, Willett was left in command of Fort Stanwix, and remained there until the summer of 1778, when he joined the army under Washington, arriving in time to participate in the battle of Monmouth. He accompanied Sullivan in his campaign against the Senecas in 1779, and was actively engaged in the Mohawk valley in 1780, 1781 and

1782. In 1783, he was for a little time in command of the northern portion of New York state, having his head-quarters at Albany. A MS. letter, now before me, from Willett to Washington, dated "Albany, 30th Jan., 1783," and signed "M. Willett, Col. Commanding," bears on its back the following endorsement also in his handwriting.

"Permit the bearer Thomas Clump (express rider) to pass to head-quarters at New Burgh. Should any accident happen to his horse or himself, all magistrates and other friends are humbly requested to afford him such assistance as he may stand in need of, in order that his dispatches may not be delayed. And any necessary expenses which may accrue on this account, I promise to settle.

M. WILLETT,
Col. Commanding."

In 1792, he was sent by Washington to treat with the Creek Indians at the south; and the same year he was appointed a brigadier general in the army intended to act against the north-western tribes. This appointment, however, he declined, as he was conscientiously opposed to the expedition. He was for some time sheriff of New York city, and was elected its mayor in 1807. He was also chosen one of the electors of president and vice-president in 1824, and was made president of the Electoral College. He died in New York city at "Cedar Grove" (as his residence in Broome street was called), full of years and honors, Sunday evening, Aug. 23d, 1830, the anniversary of his battle with Major Ross and Walter Butler, in the 91st year of his age. The funeral of Col. Willett took place on Tuesday, the 24th of August. The coffin was conveyed into the garden in the rear of his dwelling, under an

arbor, which in life had been his favorite resort; a gate was thrown open in the rear, so that the number of visitors who were anxious to view his remains might pass through without confusion. It was estimated that not less than ten thousand persons availed themselves of the opportunity. The procession formed at his residence, the pall-bearers being Col. Troup, Col. Fish, Col. Trumbull, Col. A. Ogden, Major General Morton, Major Fairlie, J. Pintard, Esq., and Mr. Dominick. The bier was attended by the members of the Cincinnati society, the members of the court of errors, the members of the common council, the judges of the different courts, together with an immense concourse of citizens in carriages and on foot, accompanied by a troop of horse and a corps of New York state artillery. The procession moved to Trinity church; and the remains, after services conducted by Rev. Dr. De Witt, were deposited in Trinity church-yard. During the afternoon ninety minute-guns were fired on the battery, and volleys of musquetry over the grave. I am informed by an old and highly esteemed resident of New York, who at that time lived near Col. Willett in Broome street, that the funeral procession, carriages included, extended nearly the entire distance from Broome street to Trinity church. Indeed, in view of these public and private manifestations of grief which, on his decease, so spontaneously gushed forth, it is a little surprising that the accomplished and genial editor of *Jones's History of New York*, in alluding to Willett's death, could find nothing more to say about him than that "his latter life, after the war was a very respectable one." The following notice appeared in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, at that time edited by my father, Col. William L. Stone, who was Col. Willett's warm friend. "The

coffin of Col. Willett was made of pieces of wood, collected by himself, many of them from different revolutionary battle fields. The corpse, in compliance with the written request of the deceased, was habited in a complete suit of citizen's apparel, including an old fashioned three-cornered hat, which had been presented for that purpose." In the personal character of Col. Willett, as has been justly remarked, "there were traits of chivalry and daring, so fearless and ardent, that in another age, he would have commanded the deepest and greatest admiration." Virtue, philanthropy and patriotism guided every step, and adorned every act of his eventful and public life; while in his private life he was distinguished for integrity, frankness and decision of character. Perhaps, however, the highest compliment that can be paid Col. Willett is, that in Judge Jones's *History of New York*, in which that gentleman assails with violence nearly all the actors in the events he describes, the worst he can say of him, after admitting that he was possessed of courage, is the remark quoted above regarding his being a principal leader of revolutionary mobs!

A son of Col. Willett is yet (1882) living near me on Jersey City Heights, N. J. He is still remarkably hale and hearty and in the full enjoyment of his physical and mental powers. He, it was, who, as a labor of filial piety, edited and published his father's *Narrative*. In a recent conversation with him he said that the engraving which forms the frontispiece of that work is a most miserable likeness of his father, in proof of which he showed me an exquisite sketch (in crayon) of the colonel, which certainly differs greatly from the engraving in the *Narrative*. Mr. Willett also informed me that until lately (when they were stolen from him) he had in his possession some six original

autograph letters from Washington to his father, two of which were couched in terms of warm commendation to Col. Willett for his successful sortie from Fort Stanwix. Mr. Willett has long been favorably known as the author of works of a religious cast, he having written, among other books, *The Life of Summerfield*, *The Life of the Messiah*, *The Restitution of all Things*, etc. To see and converse, in the year of our Lord, 1882, with the son of an Indian fighter of the old French war, and a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, not only is a very great privilege, but brings the early colonial days vividly before the mind, making them indeed seem as of yesterday.¹

¹ In this connection one cannot but recall another similar instance of a man who died but recently (1880). His name was Ransom Cook, of Saratoga Springs, whose father-in-law was Robert Ayers, the person who conveyed to Jane McCrea the message of her lover David Jones. Mr. Cook, who had become greatly distinguished by his many mechanical and scientific inventions, was, in many respects, a remarkable man, fully alive not only to the present, but to the past; and when in the year of our Lord, 1880, we talked with him whose wife was the daughter of one who knew Jane McCrea intimately, past events no longer seemed dim and shadowy but actual realities!

NO. III.

ORISKANY FROM A BRITISH STANDPOINT.

Before going to press, I submitted my manuscript to a friend for whose judgment I have a profound respect, with the request that he would make any suggestions which might occur to him. He promptly responded by giving me several valuable hints, and among others the following: "In your Introduction you should give the *other side of the story*, as well as Willett's account of how he came by the Orderly Book. Johnson was with his regiment *fighting when the sortie was made*. Willett's story was not true. However, print it as you propose, but *also* print a part of the note of the editor of Jones's History of New York during the Revolution, which is No. LXIII. p. 701, Vol. I. Jones's text shows that Sir John suggested or rather proposed the plan to St. Leger, the result of which was the defeat of Oriskany. This fact you might also mention."

Before asking my friend's opinion, I had already endeavored (and I think successfully, see note on page 13) to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between Willett's and Jones's accounts, by showing how it might easily have happened that Sir John was not only in the attack on Herkimer, but also in the camp at the time of Willett's sortie. Nevertheless, in justice to the other side, I herewith give the note of the editor in Jones's History, above referred to, first preceding it with Jones's account of the action at Oriskany in his text.

Extract from Jones's History, p. 216, Vol. I.

"Hercheimer got intelligence of the situation of the garrison

[at Fort Stanwix] and determined to raise the siege if possible, if not, at least to throw in reinforcements, with large supplies of every kind of provisions and stores. To effect this, he collected a body of about 1,000 militia, in which every person of note in the country, who were in the interest of congress, served either as officers or volunteers. When everything was in readiness, Hercheimer marched for the relief of the fort, having under his escort about 400 wagons loaded with stores and provisions of every kind. St. Leger had soon information of these proceedings; Sir John Johnson proposed meeting them in the woods, lying in ambush and taking them by surprise. This being agreed to by St. Leger, Sir John proceeded with a part of his own corps, a few Canadians, and the Indians, the distance of a few miles, and waited the coming of the enemy. Spies were sent out, who soon returned with an account of their approach, their distance, and their route. An ambush was laid, and so artfully concealed, that the first intimation the rebels had of an enemy being at hand, was a heavy fire in their rear, in their front, and upon both flanks. Numbers fell. A battle ensued in the Indian method of fighting. The rebels behaved with resolution, but were totally defeated. Several of the Indians were killed, and among them some of their Sachems. The other part of the detachment suffered little. In the action General Hercheimer and almost every leading man in the rebel interest in the county of Tryon, were killed. Not a man got into the fort, and the wagons, provisions, and stores were all either taken or destroyed."

Extract from the editor's note to the above note, LXIII, Vol I.

"St. Leger's corps passed through the Oneida Lake on the

31st of July, 1777 ; his van appeared before Fort Stanwix on the 2d of August, and the siege began on the 3d. * * *

“ Nicholas Herkimer, or Herckheimer, as the name was originally spelled, was appointed brigadier of the Tryon county militia, when it was separated from that of Albany county, and formed into a brigade by itself, by the provincial convention, Sept. 5th, 1776, John Frey at same time being appointed his brigade major. An official letter of the provincial convention to the New York delegates in congress, dated Aug. 14th, 1777, written by Robert R. Livingston, says : ‘ We have 700 militia out in Tryon county, and the governor has also ordered 200 men to Scoary [Schoharie] where the Whigs are besieged by Tories and Indians.’ The committee of Tryon county, on the 17th of July, unto the committee of safety, at Kingston. ‘ Fort Schuyler’ fortifications are not yet finished, and the garrison consists of but 300 able men. General Schuyler ordered 200 men of our militia for a reinforcement, but with all trouble possible, and repeated orders, no more but about 80 men could be brought there.’ In the same letter they say that the militia were in such a discouraged state that, the weak hearted (which by this time being the greatest number) are fully resolved and declare openly, upon actual invasion of the enemy, to render themselves up to their protection, if the county be not in time succored with troops, and that from neglect of such succors more than half of our inhabitants are resolved not to lift up arms in defence of this country.’

“ Col. Peter Gansevoort, with the 3d New York Continentals, took command in April, 1777, and began the erection of the

* Fort Stanwix just after it was erected was called “Fort Schuyler” for a short time. The real Fort Schuyler (old Fort Schuyler) was on the site of the present city of Utica. See preceding note to Fort Stanwix.

fort. On the 1st of August, he received a reinforcement of about 200 men, with several batteaux loaded with provisions and ammunition, the tardy result of Schuyler's orders, which increased his force to about 700 men.

"Herkimer on the 17th of July, had issued a proclamation calling out all the Tryon county militia from the ages of 16 to 60, but only succeeded in getting about 700 by the 5th of August, when he encamped at the confluence of the Oriskany creek with the Mohawk. He sent that night a messenger to Gansevoort asking him to make a sortie when he should appear, and to notify the arrival of his messenger by three guns in succession.

"His officers and men taunting him with cowardice for delaying to move, the next day he ordered them to march before the signal was heard; the result was the defeat described by the author Helmer, the messenger arrived at the fort at 1 P. M., at 2 Gansevoort sent out a sortie of 206 men under Marinus Willett, who ransacked and plundered the slightly guarded camp of Johnson, who was engaged in the battle about a mile from the fort, and there learning the defeat of Herkimer, retreated back to the fort with their plunder, which, in the words of Helmer, 'at a reasonable computation amounted at least to one thousand pounds,' 'not one man being killed or wounded.'

"Herkimer, desperately wounded in the leg, bore himself nobly in the action, was afterward removed to his own home in the town of Danube on the Mohawk, and died there after an amputation, on the 16th of August, 1777, and is buried in the family graveyard near the house.

"The remains of Herkimer's command retreated to old Fort Schuyler (now Utica), carrying their wounded, but without

burying their dead, and made no further attempt at relieving the fort. Except the rear they fought bravely. 'We will not take upon us to tell of the behaviour of the rear. So far we know they took to flight the first firing,' say the committee of German Flatts in a letter, informing the Albany committee of the battle and asking succor.

" 'Gentlemen,' their letter concludes, 'we pray you will send us succor. By the death of most part of our committee members, the field officers in general being wounded, every thing is out of order, the people entirely dispirited; our county at Esopus unrepresented; that we cannot hope to stand it any longer without your aid; we will not mention the shocking aspect our fields do show. Faithful to our country, we remain, your sorrowful brethren, the few members of this committee,

"PETER J. DAGGART,
" *Chairman.* "

NO IV.

SIR DARBY MONAGHAN.

The Duke of Rutland¹ when lord lieutenant of Ireland frequently indulged himself in incognito rambles, with a few boon companions, through the meaner parts of Dublin, in the course of which he occasionally met with strange adventures.

One evening, his Grace, Col. St. Leger, and one or two others, having entered into a public house in the Liberty, they found the landlord (who had served under St. Leger in America) to be so comical a blade, that they invited him to sit down to supper with them. Darby Monaghan, who knew his Grace by sight, took good care that the entertainment should be such as to give every satisfaction to his guests, and he contrived so to season it with an abundant flow of native wit and drollery, that they were quite delighted with him. His wine and whiskey punch were so good that by two in the morning they were all quite jolly, and ready to sally out into the street, in quest of adventures. This however, was prevented by the politic Darby, who contrived, by the humor of his songs, and the waggery of his jests, to fascinate them to the spot, until one after another, they fell drunk under the table.

During their libations, and after Darby had said several good things in succession, the Duke in a fit of good humor, and by way of a joke, turned round to him, and said, "by Jove! landlord, you are a glorious fellow, and an honor to your country. What can I do for you my boy? [Hiccup.] I'll

¹ Charles Manners, fourth Duke of Rutland, was the eldest son of the General, Marquis of Granby. He succeeded his grandfather, the third Duke, in 1779. He was very popular, and was celebrated for his kind heart and his interest in literary men. He was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, February 17, 1784, and continued in office until his death in 1787.—Ed.

knight you my lad? so—[hiccup again]—down upon your marrow bones this instant!”—“Your Grace’s high commands shall be obeyed,” said Darby kneeling. The Duke drew his sword, and although Colonel St. Leger endeavored to prevent his carrying the joke too far, he struck him over the shoulder, and uttered the ominous words, “Rise up Sir Darby Monaghan!” Darby, having humbly thanked his Grace, and sworn fealty to the King of England in a bumper, an immense bowl of punch was ordered in; this was filled and refilled, until at length the whole party became blind-drunk, as before stated.

The weather being warm, and the great quantity of punch which they had drunk, prevented the toppers from feeling any inconvenience from the hardness of their couch, and they slept as soundly as they would have done on a down bed, either at the Castle or the lodge. Darby, who, from long seasoning, was soon enabled to overcome the effects of the whiskey, rose betimes, and, having bustled about, soon prepared a comfortable breakfast of tea, coffee and chocolate, for the sleeping partners of his debauch.

When all was ready, not liking to rouse them by shaking or otherwise, he stepped into the room upon tiptoe and gently opened the window shutters. The sun shining in full upon them, they soon awoke from their slumbers, wondering where they were. The landlord, who was listening at the door, speedily put an end to their suspense, by thrusting in his black head, and nodding to his Grace, assuring him, “that they were safe and sound, and not a bone broke, in Darby Monaghan’s own comfortable and fashionable *hotel*; also, that if his Honor’s Grace and the other gentlemen would just shake themselves a

bit, and sluish their faces with a little nice cold spring water, they might fall to without any more delay, for there was a breakfast fit for a laird laid out for them in the next room."

This intelligence was received with much pleasure by the party, who, having put themselves in decent trim, adjourned to the breakfast room, where they found everything of the best laid out in homely style; but what pleased them the most, was Darby's attention in bringing in a bottle of whisky under one arm, and one of brandy under the other. Pouring out several glasses, he presented them to each, according to their choice; taking the blessed Vargin to witness that a glass of good spirits was the best maicine iver envinted for weakness of the stomach, after straitching it with punch the overnight.

Darby's courtesy was taken in good part; and after he had retired, the conversation turned upon his extraordinary humor. At length Col. St. Leger, seeming to recollect himself, said, "I am afraid, my Lord Duke, your Excellency made a bit of a blunder last night; you conferred the honor of knighthood on this same landlord." — "Did I, by heaven!" exclaimed his Grace. "That you did," replied the colonel. "Bless me, how unfortunate! why didn't you prevent me?" "I endeavored to do so with all my might, but your Excellency's arm was too potent; and I preferred seeing your weapon fall upon *his* shoulder, rather than have it thrust into me." "What an unfortunate affair!" exclaimed the Duke, rising; "but I suppose the fellow doesn't recollect the circumstance more than myself; let us call him in. I wouldn't have such a thing reported at St. James's for the world; I should be recalled, and be the laughing stock of every one at the Court. Zounds! to knight the landlord of a common punch house! the thing is surely impossible."

"Both possible and true," replied the Colonel; "but let us ring for him, and see what he himself says about the matter." Darby, who was in attendance on the outside of the door, heard all that passed, and resolved to resist every attempt to deprive him of his newly acquired honors. On entering the room the following dialogue took place.

Duke—I say, landlord, we were all quite jolly last night?

Darby—Your honor's noble Grace may say that same; we drank thirteen whacking bowls of punch among five of us.

Duke—Ah! so we did, I believe—thirteen to the dozen—and you supped with us?

Darby—Many thanks to your Grace's Excellency, Darby Monaghan did himself that same honor.

Duke—No honor at all, my good fellow. But I say, Darby, do you recollect any thing particular that I did in the way of joke, you know; some foolish thing, when we were all as drunk as fiddlers?

Darby—Certainly, your Dukeship may say that, any how. I dare say the colonel well remimbers you filling up the last bowl from the whisky jug, instade of from that containing the hot water. By the powers! I could not stand that; it set me off whizzing like a top, and does not remember one single thing after we emptied it.

Duke — [Laughing] — Oh, then you don't remember my drawing my sword and threatening to run you through the body?

Darby — The Lord above foriver presarve yer Dukeship's Highness from cru'l murder and sudden death all the days of yer life! I don't remimber any such thing; but I remimber well the whack yer Excellency's Royal Highness gave me with that same sword over my shoulder, when ye bid me "rise up, Sir Darby Monaghan."

Duke — You do ? eh ! But that was all in jest, you know Darby ; and so we must think no more about it.

Darby — Long life to your Highness ! but I took it in right earnest ; more by token that my shoulder aches at this moment with the blow ; but I mustn't mind that, for it was given upon an honorable occasion, and resaved with good will—so thanks to yer Excellency for all the favors now and hereafter.

Duke — But you don't presume to suppose, my good fellow, that I actually conferred upon you the honor of knighthood ?

Darby — By the powers ! your Highness, but I do. Sure I wouldn't be after doing your Highness such discredit as to think ye meant to break yer royl word to man or mortal.

Duke — Oh the devil ! — [whispering] — I say Colonel what is to be done ?

Colonel — [Whispering] — Give him some berth, and make him promise to say nothing about the frolic.

Duke — Well, Darby, I don't mean to act scurvily towards you. I can give you a tidewaiter's place, or something in the excise, that will bring you in about one hundred and fifty pounds a year, and make you independent for life.

Darby — [Kneeling, and kissing the Duke's hand] — Let me go on my merry bones once again, to thank yer Royl Highness for being so good and merciful to poor Darby Monaghan ! He'll niver forget to remimber to pray for yer excellency to the blessed saints, on Sunday or holiday.

Duke — Well, then, Darby, it is settled that you give up the title, and that nothing shall ever be said about last night's adventure ?

Darby — Give up the title ! yer Grace ? and not be called Sur ! after all ? I thought the hundred and fifty pounds a-year was to keep up my style as a true and loyal knight.

Duke — No, faith ! you sha'n't have place and title too, so choose without delay.

Darby — [Pausing] — Well, yer Grace, if yer Excellency plaíses' I'd rather keep the title ; for, d'ye see, it 'ill be such a wonderment for a punch house to be kept by Sir Darby Monaghan, that I'll soon have all the custom of Dublin city ; and that 'ill be better than a tidewaither's place, any how.

Duke — [Laughing.] — Well, then, what more argument about that matter, you shall have a place of about two hundred and fifty pounds a-year, and you must give up your knighthood this instant.

Darby — [Going out] — Plase your Excellency, then, I'll just step up stairs, and ax hir *Ladyship's* advice ; and, I dare say she'd rather have the money. So I'll inform your Honor's Grace in a twinkling.

Her Ladyship was accordingly consulted on this important question ; and she wisely, and without hesitation, voted for the income of two hundred and fifty pounds, which they enjoyed for many years. The *title*, too, stuck by them till the last ; for after the Duke's departure from his vice-royalty, the affair was bruited abroad, to the great amusement of the middle and lower orders in Dublin, who never failed to address the fortunate couple by the appellations of “ Sir Darby and Lady Monaghan.”

London Clubs.

NO. V.

JANE WEMPLE STARIN¹.

One of the sufferers by St. Leger's raid, was Jane Wemple Starin, the grandmother of Hon. John H. Starin, ex M. C., from the state of New York². The trials of this heroic and patriotic woman, if given in detail, would fill many pages. Hon. John H. Starin, writing to the author in regard to his (Mr. Starin's) grandmother, says: "My grandmother, Jane Wemple Starin, was of Dutch descent, her maiden name being Jane Wemple. She lived in the present village of Fultonville, Montgomery Co., N. Y., before there was any village there, her house, indeed, being the only one. It was on the south bank of the Mohawk river opposite Caughnawaga, and was kept as an inn. It was the headquarters of the mail route to the north and west, which crossed the river at this point by a ford. My grandfather was an Indian interpreter, and his brother, my great uncle, was the first judge in that part of the State.³ The inn also was a kind of halting-place

¹ Her maiden name was Jane Wemple; one of the Wemple family who, together with the Fondas, Vroomans and Veeders, founded, in 1762, the Dutch church at Caughnawaga, the present village of Fonda, Montgomery Co., N. Y. The original church edifice is, I believe, still standing.

² It is probably due to this fact that Mr. Starin has always shown such interest in the Saratoga Monument Association of which he is the president. Indeed, it is solely to his efforts that the trustees have been able to begin the erection of the monument now completing at Schuylerville, N. Y.

³ Hon. Wm. J. Bacon gives the following account of Mr. Starin's great uncle in his exceedingly able and instructive address on "The Early Bar of Oneida," delivered in 1875 in Utica, N. Y. We quote:

"The first incumbents of the Herkimer Common Pleas, which then (1798) included Oneida county, were three fair-minded, intelligent and upright laymen, viz. Henry Starin, judge, and Jedediah Sanger and Amos Wetmore, justices. Of the first of these men a very graphic, and, I am inclined to think, a very just sketch, is given by our former highly esteemed townsman, William Tracy, Esq., of New York,

for bands of western Indians who were on their way east to visit their Great Father at Washington ; and often at night the halls of the inn would be so thickly filled with sleeping red-men that my grandfather could hardly pick his way among them. There was also a permanent encampment of Mohawks just beyond the inn ; while directly in its front, there were several eel-wiers that the Indians had built in the river, one of which still (1882) is plainly to be seen.

“ My grandmother, who died at Syracuse, N. Y., in 1841, at the age of nearly 85 years, was a very neat old lady ; and I well recall the short gown (spun and woven by herself) that she wore, and the pocket fastened by a string around her waist, and worn underneath the gown, which had to be pulled up whenever she wanted to reach her pocket. She always carried in it some tidbit for the boys.” Mrs. Starin’s memory to the day of her death was remarkably retentive ; and on a winter’s night, while the flames went roaring up the

in the two most valuable and entertaining lectures delivered by him in this city, more than thirty years ago. Starin was a plain, honest Dutch farmer, living at German Flats, of limited education, but with a large stock of common sense and sound judgment, and, above all, an incorruptible integrity. His sense of the inviolability of contracts and the duty of fulfilling them, is well illustrated in the amusing but well authenticated incident of his refusing a discharge to an applicant for the benefit of the insolvent act until he had paid all his debts, to be relieved from which, it need hardly be said, was the very object and purpose of the application.

“ The first record we have of any court held within the territory of what is now the County of Oneida, is in October, 1793, when a Court of Common Pleas was held in a barn belonging to Judge Sanger, in the town of New Hartford, and over this court Judge Starin presided, assisted by Justices Sanger and Wetmore. An incident occurred at this session of the court, which is so amusing and illustrative, that I venture to reproduce it substantially as it is related by Tracy, in the lectures already alluded to. The day was cold and chilly, and the barn of course had no appliances for creating artificial warmth. In the absence of these, and with a view to keeping their faculties awake, some of the attending lawyers had induced the sheriff (an impulsive and obliging Irishman, named Colbraith), to procure a jug of ardent spirits, which was quietly circulated around the bar, and from which each one decanted (taking it like oysters raw from the shell) the quantity that would suffice to keep them up to concert pitch. While this was going on, the judges, who were

hugh chimney, and the fire-light merrily played among the fitches of bacon hanging from the smoked rafters overhead, she would recount to her grandchildren gathered around, her many adventures in a newly settled country, and the sufferings endured by herself and kindred when forced to fly on the approach of the savage hordes of St. Leger.

Mr. Starin comes, indeed, of good old revolutionary stock. His grandfather, the Indian interpreter mentioned above, fought throughout the war for American Independence, and was one of ten of the Starin family who served in the Continental army directly under Washington. To Sampson Sammons, the great-great-uncle of Mr. Starin, belongs the honor of having had fired at him the *first shot in the war of the Revolution* west of the Hudson; while his son, Jacob Sammons, in attempting to erect

suffering from the cold without any such adventitious relief, consulted together, and concluded that rather than freeze in their seats they would adjourn the court until the ensuing day. Just as they were about to announce this conclusion, and to call on the sheriff to make the usual proclamation, the latter sprang up with the jug in his hand, and handing it up to the Bench, exclaimed, 'Oh, no, no, Judge, don't adjourn yet. Take a little gin; that will keep you warm. 'Taint time to adjourn yet.' Tradition says the court yielded to the soft persuasion, and in the language now common and familiar to our ears, 'smiled,' and proceeded with the business of the court. What sort of justice prevailed during the remainder of that day, the historian of the incident does not tell us, and cotemporary tradition is silent on the subject." Judge Bacon, (who is the best living authority on the subject) also kindly writes me the following additional particulars of Judge Starin. "Judge Starin was born about eleven miles below the city of Utica, in the county of Herkimer, which then included within its limits what are now the counties of Oneida, Madison, Oswego, Lewis, Jefferson and St. Lawrence. He was a militia officer at the beginning of the Revolution, and is reputed as having been present at the battle of Oriskany; and from that time held the position of colonel of the Tryon County Militia during the remainder of the war. He had not only good common sense and great integrity (as I state in my lecture on the Oneida Bar) but unflinching courage and loyalty and many attempts were made to capture him by the enemy, which, by his great shrewdness and presence of mind, he escaped; but finally, on one occasion, he was surprised by the Indians and shut up in a wigwam overnight, his captors proposing to burn him alive the next morning. But in the dead of night he escaped through an opening, and fleeing swiftly he eluded pursuit by taking to the water and following the bed, until fortunately, finding a canoe among the willows on the bank he unloosed it, and moving down the stream, reached his home safely by noon of that day."

a liberty-pole at Caughnawaga in 1775, was struck down by a loaded whip in the hands of Col. Guy Johnson, and returned to his father's house bearing upon his body the first scars of the Revolutionary contest in the county of Tryon. See *Stone's Brant*, Vol. I, pp. 52, 107. Jacob Sammon's grandson, the late Col. Simeon Sammons, of Fonda, N. Y., during our late civil war, equipped, put in marching order, and conducted to Harper's Ferry, eleven hundred men in twenty-nine days. When Sammons reached Washington and was asked the usual question what he had come for, instead of expressing, as many did, a desire for easy quarters near the capitol, he answered "to fight by —"; and as evidence of the sincerity of his purpose he brought home two bullets in his body. Again, at the springing of a mine in front of Petersburg, he leaped over the parapet and, though his foot was shattered by a bullet, caught the standard and planted it in triumph on the works of the enemy. He was also, we believe, engaged at Fredericksburgh, and was near the late Col. Welcome B. Sayles of the 7th R. I. Vol. when that gallant and meritorious officer fell (mortally wounded by a shell) while waving his hand to encourage his men who were crossing the river on pontoon bridges in the face of a galling fire from the enemy stationed on the high bank in their front.

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